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The Week

THE final Census report that there were in April 2,508,151 jobless in the United States proves that most of the published estimates based on its June figures were too low. This time the Census authorities are commendably careful to see that their announcement is not misunderstood. It does not include the total number of unemployed. A later release will cover the other important class—"Persons having jobs but on lay-off without pay, excluding those sick or voluntarily idle." This class B will be made up in part of persons who are laid off for short periods, "though it will include also many persons who have been laid off from their jobs for relatively long periods, some of whom are in very much the same economic position as the jobless in Class A." This will be particularly the case in coal-mining regions. When the final total of unemployment is published, even if we assume that the enumerators did a good job, it still will not account for that part-time unemployment which lops off hours every day. The fact that employment has not increased since the April count was made is proved by the figures just issued by the Federal Reserve Board, which indicate the lowest level of employment for the year. There are more persons unemployed in the United States than in Great Britain, Germany or France. What percentage of the total gainfully occupied is unemployed cannot be known accurately until the Census tabulates the latter figure.

WHAT has happened to the Coolidge-Mellon doctrine that reducing income taxes brings prosperity, which in turn increases tax yields? The nation, the Treasury has just discovered, is now threatened with a heavy deficit. While governmental expenses have gone on increasing, the first fifty days of the fiscal year which began June 30 have seen a decrease in revenue of $64,261,211. It has been impossible to pay anything into the sinking fund for retirement of the debt. For about $40,000,000 of this drop in revenue, the falling off of customs receipts is responsible, and this is in part due to the new tariff. It is also due, however, to world-wide depression. For years this journal has argued that the successive steps in unburdening the large individual incomes and corporate profits were unsound. As long as prosperity continued, tax reduction might not be felt, but when depression arrived, we should run into a deficit, and in the meantime the huge War debt would not have been retired as rapidly as would otherwise have been possible. Now the predicted difficulties have arrived. It may be necessary to restore next year the one percent incontinently lopped off the income taxes last December. Even this will not be enough to balance the budget, if depression continues much longer. If Mr. Mellon's theory is correct, why does he hesitate to apply it now? Why does he not advocate further tax cuts in the expectation of larger yields?

WHEN President Hoover heard the news of the threatened deficit, and saw the prediction that taxes would have to be raised again, he became alarmed and issued a reassuring statement. Well he might, with an election of Congress approaching. But his reasons for hope are not convincing. He

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maintains that the falling off of customs revenue was due to the rush of importers to get a large supply of foreign goods into the country before the new duties went into effect, and that when these goods are consumed, imports will recover. Nevertheless, the value of imports in the months immediately before the tariff was passed was considerably less than in the corresponding months of 1929. The reduction in value of imports, and in the customs receipts derived from them, was in large part due to the falling prices of the imported articles; prices are not likely to rise again as rapidly as they have dropped. Mr. Hoover also looks forward to a decrease in governmental expenditures—something which is very unlikely. And anyone who is encouraged by the large tax receipts of the first two quarters of this year should remember that these taxes are based on the gigantic incomes of 1929, not on the smaller ones of 1930.

PRESIDENT Hoover's nomination of ex-Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher as chairman of the Tariff Commission does not increase the already slender hope that many of the rates will be reduced. Mr. Fletcher has no great reputation as an economist; on the other hand, he comes from the Pennsylvania political school of high protectionism. It is to be assumed that political motives will dominate fact finding on the Commission under Hoover, as they did under Coolidge. But perhaps Mr. Hoover is not to be blamed greatly for this appointment. It is reported that he had a very difficult time in the attempt to find a competent man for the job. Economic experts know how hopeless it is, how little the Commission can do under the law. They do not want to be associated in any way with the fundamentally unsound Smoot-Hawley tariff. To be on the Commission would be a thankless job for anyone except a person interested, for political reasons, in increasing the protection offered to favored groups.

PRESIDENT Leguia of Peru has been deposed from his dictatorship and is now reported to be under arrest on a battleship. His overthrow, which follows so closely on the heels of that of President Siles of Bolivia, may be laid to other causes, perhaps, than the present distaste for dictators which seems to be spreading through South America. Leguia, in his twelve years of despotic rule, had made many enemies. His gestures of friendship toward the Indians, whom he strove to incorporate into the activities of the national life, had aroused the enmity of the powerful land-owning class. Moreover, Peru, being dependent upon basic raw materials such as sugar, cotton, coffee, is, like all tropical or semitropical countries, suffering a period of acute financial depression. Taxes are extremely high there, and though Peru has the smallest per-capita debt of any country in the world, the mass of the working people are finding great difficulty in making both ends meet. But another reason for Leguia's overthrow was his unconcealed friendship for this country. It is said that a picture of President Monroe hung over his desk and that a statue of Pershing adorned one corner of his office. He had always greeted American capitalists with open arms, and American capital had responded by investing more than $150,000,000 in the country. Whether Peru can look forward to a more liberal form of government from the candidates which the military junta proposes, or whether the country will return to the condition of feudalism which was prevalent before Leguia assumed power, remains to be seen. But it is nevertheless obvious that the coup d'état will not increase the amicable relations which the United States and Peru have enjoyed since 1918.

THE nomination by the United States group of Frank B. Kellogg to the World Court, which will undoubtedly be followed by his election, is probably due to two motives. One is to give formal recognition to his part in framing the Kellogg-Briand Pact for renunciation of war; the other is to increase the prestige of the Court in the Senate by naming a former Secretary of State who has orthodox Republican affiliations. Nevertheless, the nomination is in other respects an unfortunate one. Abler jurists from this country had already been nominated by other national groups—Dean Roscoe Pound, for instance, who was supported by Great Britain, Australia and Siam, as well as Dr. James Scott and George W. Wickersham. Should the United States adhere to the Court, it will be important that our representative on it should have, not a political or even a diplomatic background, but a supreme juristic competence for the job.

TWO pieces of news remind us of the bitter labor struggle which was being waged about a year ago in Gastonia. The North Carolina Supreme Court has confirmed the conviction for second-degree murder of the strike leaders. It will be remembered that the state had no evidence which would directly connect any of these men with the firing of the shot which killed Police Chief Aderholt, that the strikers had previously been attacked by the forces of "law and order," and that Aderholt and his companions were at the strikers' camp at the time of the killing. It is reasonable to suppose that the jury was influenced by the questioning of Beal concerning his political and religious beliefs—a procedure which the supreme court has now endorsed. There must, therefore, remain doubt as to the guilt of the defendants. The second piece of news is that three of the leaders—Beal, Miller and Hendricks—have jumped their bail, and are now in Russia or Germany. One can scarcely blame them for not wanting to serve the long sentences imposed. At the same time, the defense of other political prisoners will be seriously handicapped if the defense organizations, which in any case have insufficient funds, have to forfeit

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heavy bail. One who risks penalties, deserved or undeserved, to challenge the existing order, can scarcely be justified in breaking a bond if he loses. The liberal organizations interested in the defense of political and economic prisoners cannot afford to have bail bonds broken, while the Communists themselves need their martyrs at home.

THE New Republic owes an apology to the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops—a little one, about four inches square. Two weeks ago we commented on press dispatches from London which predicted the attitude the Bishops would this year adopt regarding birth control. Their attitude turns out to be somewhat more liberal than was predicted, though it still lags miles behind either the dictates of common sense or the almost universal practice among their parishioners. The Bishops no longer utterly condemn birth control. They admit there may be "a clearly felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood," and say that "the method must be decided on Christian principles." They repeat the familiar, ridiculous and unscientific assertion that "the primary and obvious method is complete abstinence," but they concede for the first time that there may be cases "where there are morally sound reasons for avoiding complete abstinence." In those cases, "other methods may be used," provided this is done "in the light of Christian principles," whatever that means. The Bishops also recommend sex education for the young, an important concession, coming from them. They are reactionary in continuing to refuse remarriage by the rites of the Church to a divorced person whose former husband or wife is still alive. Their progress is minute, but they do move. However tardily, they recognize that their spiritual authority is being defied by nearly everyone, and they solve the question as the Church has always done—by bringing the authority over toward the facts. How long will it be before the Catholics follow their example?

ACCORDING to a recent news dispatch, a German scientist has developed a photographic film so sensitive that the pages of a hundred novels can be recorded in microscopic size upon a piece of it no bigger than a post card. Inasmuch as all new inventions are at first considered in their relation to war, this invention is hailed as a marvelous method for secretly transmitting information. On a section of this film the size of a pinhead, a spy could send his government the complete plans of a campaign. To us, however, the invention opens up other vistas, less warlike perhaps, but none the less impressive. For if a hundred novels can be recorded upon a post card, then the dreadful problem of whether the drug store does not sacrifice something of its dignity by displaying books upon its counters loses a great deal of terror. A hundred novels on a post card could be sold in the rack along with postals of the Woolworth Tower or the Statue of Liberty and would in no wise seem out of place there. Moreover, they could probably be sold for two cents or so apiece, thus at last bringing literature within reach of the masses. Indeed, the invention opens up so many benefits to culture that we earnestly hope it will be developed commercially before literature gets out of the hands of the drug stores or disappears completely.

CHIEF Justice Hughes, in his address to the American Bar Association, did not touch directly upon the importance of choosing wise and progressive members of the Supreme Court, but what he said leads inescapably to that conclusion. His declaration that "encroachments upon state authority, however contrived, should be resisted with the same intelligent determination as that which demands that the national authority should be fully exercised to meet national needs" is one of those formulas whose practical meaning depends entirely on its interpretation. What one man believes is a state right often conflicts with what another man believes is the attempt of national authority to meet a national need. The Supreme Court often has to decide such disputes. Judicial interpretation of states' rights, as well as of the due-process clause, which Chief Justice Hughes intimates has been overworked, is frequently necessary in legal issues which have large economic and social implications. If we have judges whose tendency it is to prevent social experiment by too frequently denying the right of either state or nation to legislate, the courts become an intolerable burden on self-government. It should be pointed out again, in this connection, that the majority of the Supreme Court itself has been, in recent years, rather more guilty than Congress of encroaching upon state authority.

THE Chicago Journal of Commerce objects to a statement in our July 2 issue that "the Supreme Court has lately held in the Baltimore traction case that a reasonable return on capital invested is 7.5 percent." The Journal of Commerce tells us that the Supreme Court did not say that a reasonable return is 7.5 percent "or any other percent; or words to that effect; and anybody who has perused the opinion of the Supreme Court in that case, and who attributes that statement to the Supreme Court, is either a fool or a liar." We do not wish to be liars and we hope we are not fools. Therefore, it is well either to substantiate our statement or modify it. We have consulted the opinion again, and also have enlisted competent legal advice. In the Baltimore case the company asked for rates that would yield 7.44 percent. The Court *held* that "to enforce rates producing less than this would be confiscatory." The Court also said, as dictum, "It is not certain that rates securing a return of 7.5 percent or even 8 percent on the value of the property would not be necessary to avoid confiscation." The Court, it is true, did not mean that any of these rates of return would be necessary for every kind of company or any state of the money

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market. It has been pointed out that the risk in street railways is greater than in most other utilities. Nevertheless, the article in which our words appeared concerned the traction situation in Chicago. Our statement that the Supreme Court held that a reasonable return is 7.5 percent was, therefore, not misleading in the specific situation being discussed. Technically, however, we should have written, not "held," but "stated."

FOR more than a month, seven newspapers in Westchester County, New York, have been linked together successfully in the operation of a "teletypesetter." This is a recently invented machine by means of which a master device, automatically operated, sets type simultaneously in ten or a hundred or a thousand newspaper offices, linked together in an electric circuit. Not only does it work smoothly, but it can set type (from a perforated ribbon in the main office) much faster than the most skilled human operator. The economies possible under its use are obvious and very great; if the clients of the chief news services could dispense with only three linotype operators in the office of each daily, the saving would be at least $20,000,000 annually, and it might easily run to five times that figure. Under these circumstances, no newspaper will dare be without this invention. More interesting, however, than the prospect of huge profits to newspaper publishers are the social effects. Here is another source of "technological unemployment." And here is one more link in the chain of mass production, standardization and commercialization of the press. Heretofore the local editor selected what he would print from the mass of material sent him, and did his own editing, though his right to alter the news from the press associations has been sharply restricted. But in future the selection and editing, except of local news, are certain to be done in New York. The editor will take what he gets, and print it. He will hardly even need to read it over before it appears, since the typesetting will be almost mechanically perfect. Journalism is becoming more and more like the chain-grocery business, handling standardized packaged goods.

The Heart of the Indian Problem

WILL THE Round Table Conference to discuss a future government for India, called to meet in October, succeed or fail? This has been the critical question ever since non-violent noncoöperation began; it is the focus of the negotiations which have been secretly conducted between the British government and Gandhi. Responsible Englishmen know that to go on attempting to govern India without her consent would be too heavy a burden for the nation to bear; the conference has all along been projected as the means of bringing together all the minds concerned. The Indian Nationalists, on their side, have been refusing to confer without a prior agreement on essentials. It will be remembered that passive resistance was started only when the Nationalists asked in vain for assurance that the conference would discuss, not whether dominion government should be granted, but how. They wanted, not the temporizing of a vague hope, but a definite promise. They still want it. The government is now attempting to satisfy them, so that Gandhi will call off his followers, and substitute coöperation for noncoöperation.

Realization of this fact throws into sharp light and shadow a good deal of the discussion of the Indian passive revolt—especially the discussion from the more imperialist of British sources. Winston Churchill rails at the government for parleying with Mahatma Gandhi—its own prisoner. Others decry the attention paid to Gandhi by public opinion, especially in the United States. He is, it is repeated *ad nauseam,* a religious fanatic, who represents only a minority of the population of the great peninsula. It is charged that he has no sense of practical statesmanship, that he merely wants to prevent the encroachment of Western civilization in the Orient by interposing a reactionary Hinduism. Commentators in other nations are warned that this is a complex business, and that moreover it is a British business with which others should not meddle. It is even inferred that people should close their eyes to it and should not talk about it.

Nevertheless the fact remains that Gandhi's opposition to the Round Table Conference, if it is not removed, will cause the conference to fail. The British government understands that no system of government for India, except one precariously dependent on military force, can be operated without the consent of his immense following. Whatever one may think of Gandhi's philosophy and tactics, they have given him a mundane power that even the most practical of Occidental statesmen must respect. Gandhi, in jail, must be consulted by his keepers. He is at present master of the situation; this is in itself the answer to much of the criticism of the nationalist movement by supporters of the British *raj.*

When a question of sovereignty is concerned, the solution is not always to be found in reason and light—particularly in the reason and the light of the power whose sovereignty is challenged. A dominion government for India, it is said, would be subject to perplexing difficulties. Any intelligent visitor from the Western world can see that there is a fission between the Moslems and the Hindus, that the Native States furnish a problem, that it would be embarrassing both for India and the British Empire if there were not an efficient military force to guard the northern passages, that the plight of the caste of untoûchables is unenviable. India, it is said, is incapable of full self-government. The Simon Commissioners saw all this very clearly, and it must be

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admitted that there is much truth in their view. But, however much may be admitted, discussion of it is at this moment academic. What the Indian Nationalists are challenging is not so much the truth of such observations as the assumption of the British that they have any right or competence over Indian problems which is superior to their own. It is a simple, rather unreasoning belief in the justice of self-government which gets the Indian nationalist movement most of the sympathy which it has outside of India. Now that the issue of self-government has been so sharply raised, there is a feeling that, once Gandhi's coöperation is obtained by a binding promise of "the substance of independence," it will be time to consider the concrete problems of government, but not before.

We are not aware that any people or group of peoples ever achieved self-government against the force of an alien power as the result of a dispassionate inquiry into their competence to exercise it. The difficulties in the way of granting freedom to Ireland, for instance, were represented for years as insuperable. There was the split between Ulster and the South; there was the closeness of Ireland to England; there was the factionalism in Ireland itself. Nevertheless the active Irish Nationalists—often if not always a minority—kept intriguing, arguing, fighting, until self-government was won. If a Simon Commission had been sent to the American colonies in 1775, it would undoubtedly have found that they would require many years of development before they were ready for independence. The leaders of the nationalist movement were, many of them, fanatical; there were the problems presented by our long frontiers open to attack by wild natives and foreign powers, by the intermixture of nationalities and religions in our population, by the institution of Negro slavery. Those who actively desired independence were unquestionably in a minority. Such a report would have been true in detail; indeed, nobody can be sure today that this nation might not have been better governed if it could have remained subject to the British crown. But all this is irrelevant in view of that contagious spirit of self-assertion which came to dominate the colonies. They wanted independence and they proposed to have it; years of warfare could not suppress the desire. When this spirit is abroad, alien government, even if it seems more fit in the abstract, is really incompetent.

An analogy which may illustrate the point better, in view of the fact that a Labor government is now in power in Great Britain, is that of a strike in a great industry. We always hear, in the heat of an industrial controversy, that a majority of the employees are not really supporting the strike, or that they have been misled by fanatical agitators from elsewhere. We hear that the strike demands are unreasonable, that the workers are incompetent to judge the situation, and that to treat with them would be ruinous. Any comment from those not directly concerned, and especially from those in other sections of the country or from other countries, is resented. In many cases there is a good deal of truth in these defenses of the employer. Nevertheless a sort of fundamental justice, irrespective of details, supports the demand of the strikers to have some power over their own wages and conditions of work. Unless that justice were generally recognized by public opinion, the labor movement would be much weaker than it is. A minimum admission of the right of self-determination is an essential preliminary to adjusting the conflict.

Friends of the British Labor Government would be injudicious not to recognize its grave difficulties, both in dealing with India and dealing with opinion at home. Every intelligent commentator should hope for the success of the Round Table Conference. Any encouragement for Gandhi and his followers by the public opinion of the world is, in many quarters, thought to add to the difficulty of the British government in making the conference a success. We do not share this opinion. The conference, we believe, cannot succeed unless the government is honestly prepared to recognize, as a definite preliminary, the right of India to substance of independence—however that may be defined so as to satisfy the Nationalists. Once this concession is made, discussion of the rest may follow. If it is not made, the only alternative is to suppress nationalism. We are not so foolhardy as to predict that a sufficiently ruthless and resourceful use of British power could not accomplish this result for the time being. But it is no proof of hostility to the English to hope that events will not take this turn. Passive revolts or active revolts may be triumphantly put down, but the spirit of Indian nationalism seems to be of the sort that will endure and rebel until it is satisfied. Whatever pressure public opinion can exert ought to be exerted, in our opinion, against those forces in Great Britain, cousin to forces all over the world, which are always reluctant to surrender the power of government over peoples or classes or groups who deeply desire to govern themselves.

The Negro in a White Man's World

A DEBATE which goes on perennially, but usually with a minimum of scientific impartiality, has to do with the respective abilities of various races. Are some people constitutionally inferior, or is their environment such that it prevents their making a good record, at least in standardized tests devised originally by and for other people in another environment? As to American Negroes, for instance, it is noteworthy that when tests are given them by white men, and environmental factors are overlooked or minimized, they are found to be at a disadvantage. The Negroes drafted into the army during the War made a low rating in the intelligence tests. In the civilian pop-

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ulation, the Negro's percentage of illiteracy is high, his standards of living characteristically low. His expectation of life is forty-five years as contrasted with fifty-nine for his white neighbor. To put the same fact in another form, his mortality is from 50 to 200 percent above the white man's. He suffers particularly from tuberculosis and from venereal disease. Despite some brilliant exceptions, particularly in the arts, he has not contributed creatively to our civilization in proportion to his numbers. On the other hand, he contributes far more than his share to our prison population.

These facts are considered in their proper perspective in a volume recently published under the editorship of Professor Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, "The Negro in American Civilization." While this book has been vigorously attacked from several quarters on various grounds, no one has contended that it does not contain the raw material for a thoroughly objective picture of Negro life as a whole. The net impression one gets from reading it is overwhelmingly one of an underprivileged race. The Negro is obviously not allowed to develop and exercise his faculties as is the white man. He is kept below the level to which, under more favorable conditions, his native abilities would raise him. The admitted lack of novelty in this statement should not blind us to the importance of the data by which it is supported. It is one thing to say that the Negro has not had a fair chance; it is another to show how and why he hasn't. And this, without rhetoric or recrimination, is what Professor Johnson's symposium does.

We find that in both the North and the South the Negro in many instances is denied access to the better-paid industrial jobs. In the North, his rates of pay for the same job, regardless of his personal efficiency, are often lower than those of white workers. In the South, where he does most of his farming, he is an exploited tenant or agricultural worker because he is ignorant and because he is rarely able to enforce his legal rights against a white landowner. Because of his poverty, and also because of segregation laws, he is compelled to live under crowded and unwholesome conditions. His morbidity and mortality rates therefore go up, just as do those of white workers in the same circumstances. Yet, as Dr. Johnson points out, there is nothing inevitable in this situation. The rates are dropping steadily, even though they remain well above those of the white population. They stand approximately where the white rates did thirty years ago. The Negro's susceptibility to certain diseases is in part offset by his resistance to others—for example, locomotor ataxia, neurasthenia, skin infections, malaria and cancer. His illiteracy cannot fairly be called a racial trait when Southern states spend nearly four times as much per capita to educate white children as they do to educate Negro children. It may be that the Negro child is less able than the white child to absorb educational material developed by the white race for the white race, but even this is not proven. Environmental conditions always affect the results, even in Northern cities where the races are theoretically on an equality.

The crime rate is a more complex matter. Some careful studies, most of them made a decade or more ago, have shown that the Negro contributes proportionately three times more to the prison population of the country than to the general population. But the fact that he is arrested and convicted more frequently than his white neighbor does not prove that he is three times as criminally minded. Not until justice ceases to take account of color shall we know what the exact ratio of criminality is. Nor should we forget that the prison population is largely made up of the poor and ignorant of all races. We do not know how much of the Negro's apparent criminality is due to a socially avoidable poverty and ignorance.

Professor Huntington has suggested that mental as well as physical traits may be affected by climate. We may even go so far as to say that biologically there are no superior and no inferior races; there are merely races which are well suited to their environment and those which are not. The Negro might conceivably be superior to the white man in Africa, inferior to him in America. He is probably inferior at present in any location if he is measured exclusively by the white man's standards. But the facts indicate that he not only can approach those standards but is actually doing so. They indicate, also, that he has certain racial aptitudes and immunities which may make him superior to the white man in certain respects—for example in his sense of rhythm, in his capacity for sudden and intense effort and in certain imaginative qualities which he displays in his religion and his arts. The practical course for open-minded white persons is to do what they can to remove the legal and economic discriminations against him, in both North and South. Beyond that lies a task which he himself must work out, that of making himself, not an imitation white man, but a fully developed Negro. In so far as he can be considered, with his large present admixture of white blood, a separate race, he has yet to realize his own racial possibilities.

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When Population Ceases to Grow

UNTIL very recent years, the problem of what will happen when population ceases to grow has aroused little curiosity in the United States; nor is this strange in a country where men prostrate themselves only before the god of Number. We are accustomed to reading of enlarged plant capacity, of expanding prosperity, of the increasingly cavernous maw of American consumers, into which distributors hope to shovel an indefinitely extensible volume of necessities, luxuries, trinkets and brummagem. Unfortunately for the distributors, the general maw is slowly ceasing to widen, and population gains in one locality are beginning to be counterbalanced by losses in another.

It is true that the preliminary results of the last federal census show that our population has grown by 16.1 percent since 1920. It is also true, however, that the increase was more rapid during the earlier part of the decade than during the last five years. The present rate of increase in the United States is only about one percent a year; and by 1940, if the birth rate continues its long decline, the rate will probably have fallen to not more than half of one percent. In fact, the population not only of the United States, but of the English-speaking world and northwestern Europe, will have ceased to grow within a generation.

Births at present exceed deaths chiefly because population includes an abnormally large proportion of women of childbearing age. As soon as this age composition becomes normal, the number who die will equal the number who are born. Such will probably be the case about 1950 or 1960. We shall then have a population of 140 or 150 millions. Of these about one in ten will be Negro, and about one in twenty, foreign-born. About one in five will live on farms.

The age composition will be the most striking feature of the stationary population of several decades hence, for the proportion of aged will have greatly increased, while that of youth will have decreased. In the following table, derived from statistics compiled by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, I indicate the changing age composition of one hundred American males.

Year	Under 20	20 to 44	45 and over
1870	49	35	16
1920	40	38	22
Stationary	32	35	33

By 1960 or 1970 the proportion of youth will have decreased one-fifth, while that of persons forty-five years of age or more will have increased 50 percent. The proportion of those sixty-five years of age and over will have more than doubled.

The economic and social consequences of this cessation of population growth and of this increasing proportion of aged are numerous and diverse. Business conditions and organization, as well as social attitudes, will be altered.

The annual aggregate volume of production, which in the past has increased chiefly because of the increase in population, will no longer increase so rapidly. For, in a stationary population, improvements in the methods of production will constitute the sole source of income in the total national output.

Production per capita, however, will continue to increase as long as productive technique improves and capital equipment increases. Should such improvements and increases end, or should the difficulty of extracting natural resources increase more rapidly than the technical means of overcoming this difficulty, production per capita will decline.

The position of the worker is certain to improve within a stationary population. In economic terms, that factor of production which is relatively most scarce tends to get relatively the largest proportion of the total output. In the past, land, and occasionally capital, have occupied this strategic position. In the future, labor will enjoy this advantage, and will consequently get a relatively larger share of the total output than it has in the past. The unskilled workers will be the first to profit by this cessation of growth.

The decrease in the proportion of youth and the increase in the proportion of aged will affect the quality of labor. The production of goods requiring youthful, vigorous labor will fall off relatively unless inventions are made in this field. Workers forty or more years of age will no longer be laid off because of company pension schemes, group insurance plans and the alleged relative ineffectiveness of older workers. Instead, the lack of an adequate youthful working population will compel business men and industrialists to adjust conditions so as to utilize men until they achieve economic security at, say, the age of fifty-five. Group insurance will disappear and company pension schemes will give way either to employers' mutuals or to a state pension system.

The increase in the proportion of aged will cut down the natural mobility of labor among occupations and will lend truth to Adam Smith's dictum that labor is the most immobile form of baggage. To date labor has been fairly distributed among industries only because young workers have tended to enter the undermanned, and avoid the overmanned, industries. In the future the proportion of workers who are youths will be too small to pre-

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serve a balance among industries. The federal government, therefore, will have to set up an organization to distribute new workers scientifically and to aid older, less adaptable, habit-trapped workers in changing from relatively overmanned to relatively undermanned occupations. Our whole cultural and vocational educational system will need to be reorganized, therefore, so as to produce only those types of trained students that are needed.

Employers faced with a lack of workers, and therefore desirous of obtaining a larger output per worker, will place a premium upon efficiency. A benediction upon quality will replace the current doxology to quantity, with respect to both man and the things he consumes, be they adult education, furniture or movies. In a sense, therefore, eugenists and educators will find themselves in Utopia.

The shortage of white male workers will multiply the opportunities in industry and the professions for both women and Negroes. Of this we already have proof. During the World War the lack of men made many new positions available for women. The restriction of foreign immigration, by opening many jobs to the Negro, has helped to strike from him the fetters of race prejudice.

The control of industry will fall more largely into the hands of graybeards, both because wealth accumulates with age and because the proportion of aged will be greater. It is axiomatic that vision is not a product of hardened arteries. Consequently, the progressive management which has marked the meteoric rise of American industry will give way to a smug, conservative form of leadership. This shift in control will in turn tend to decrease the rate of technological improvement, and thus hamper productivity.

The entrenchment of the aged will increase the social and economic stratification of society. No longer will it be possible to scale the ladders of opportunity with ease. The upraised hand of the patriarch will stay the rash march of youth. Hence, the tempo of American life will slow down until it resembles that of western Europe. Youth will incline more to the tastes of the peripatetic and less to the unbridled desires of the speedomaniac.

Consumption, too, will be affected by the advent of a stationary population. The type of goods consumed will change; and, as Lionel Robbins suggests, toys will give place to footwarmers. The aged will want radios, books, homes, etc., rather than hip flasks, educational rolling mills and racing cars. Symbolically, Chrysler's loss will prove the realtor's gain.

As the number of potential consumers ceases to grow, competition will become more intense. An increasingly high bankruptcy rate will rid the country of inefficient producers and distributors, and place control, temporarily at least, in the hands of the able. No longer will population growth solve the problem of the overbuilt plant. Overbuiltness and waste of production capacity, such as Stuart Chase describes in "The Tragedy of Waste," will become anachronistic. The number of consumers will have to be carefully gauged before plant construction begins.

Rural and urban rents have risen in the past because of the increase in population. Future increases in population will be the result of urban conglomeration alone; and therefore most farmers, and many subdivision developers who are anticipating rising values, will be left holding the sack. None will be more hurt by the cessation in population growth than the farmer. In the immediate past, increases in population have provided the chief increases in the demand for farm products. Hence, when population growth ceases, since Americans already consume practically as much farm produce as they can, the farmer's market will cease to expand. Chairman Legge will have either to drum up a foreign demand or asphyxiate the excess supply of farmers. Should wicked urbanites invent new or improve present farm equipment, or should the farmer become more skilled, farm products will fall in price, rural rents will toboggan, and incompetent farmers will trek to town. Mayhap, too, a new farm revolt in quest of a foreign market will break down tariff walls.

Prices may rise, for a cessation in population growth will bring about a relative reduction in the demand for money. Gold supply, contrary to the fears of Edie and Cassell, may not decrease relative to, but rather may tend to increase more rapidly than, the supply of goods. Hence, in so far as prices are affected by the supply of gold, they will rise because the production of goods lags behind that of the gold base. Consequently efforts will be made to achieve either international control of the output of gold or national regulation of the supply of money.

Curious social consequences will follow the advent of a stationary population. Effete sports, such as golf, will grow more popular. Church enrolment will increase until the crude death rate becomes constant, since *homo sapiens,* as he edges toward eternity, is still prone to consult a shaman. As long as the aged seek solace in the face of incurable ills, cults such as Christian Science and the like will thrive.

The cessation in growth, being new, will not be understood by editors and business men, who are conditioned to expect a constant, steady expansion in numbers. These will, therefore, publicly laud the virtues of multiparous women and urge Congress to establish bounties for mothers. This latter suggestion may ultimately be adopted, and, while it is unlikely to increase the birth rate, will place part of the cost of childbearing on the shoulders of the state, where it belongs.

There is much inherent good in a stationary population. If one admits that there is an optimum balance between numbers and natural resources, one also admits that a point is reached at which

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further population growth is undesirable. At this point, population must necessarily assume the form and characteristics we have described. Essentially, therefore, it amounts to a choice between an optimum, stationary population and unrestricted growth with its attendant evils of overpopulation. Even assuming the general advantages of the former, it is likely that many a business man and banker will wrench a sales instinct before he realizes that population growth is no more.

On the whole, if the disadvantages of uncontrolled population growth are ignored, in a stationary population with senility in the council chambers and virtue in the air, civilized man will probably find life onerous. Still, there may be an escape. Fascist youth, noting and fearing the dynamic vigor of the young Russian Colossus in the East, may rise against conservatism, boot out the graybeards and replace vision at the helm.

J. J. SPENGLER.

Communism in America

II: *The Communist Party versus the Labor Movement*

IN A RECENT interview, Mr. Henry Ford is reported to have said that "if Communism gets into a country, it shows the country needs it." This readaptation of Hegel's "all that exists is reasonable" may serve the purpose of justifying Mr. Ford's business operations in Soviet Russia, particularly in circles where they require justification. As a bit of social reasoning, his maxim is fallacious. But even more so is its converse, namely, that if Communism does *not* get into a country, it shows that the country does *not* need it.

In 1919-1920, when the Communist movement made its first appearance here, the American scene seemed ripe for something of its kind. The mere fact that over 4,000,000 workers were involved in strikes during 1919, and the nature of many of these strikes, suggested a situation that was anything but normal. There was the very effective general strike in Seattle, the strike of 32,000 textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, the momentous strike of the Boston police, the prolonged strike of 367,000 steel workers, the strike of 411,000 miners which was demoralized only with the aid of President Wilson and the well remembered federal injunction of Judge Anderson. The Plumb Plan of tripartite ownership and public management of the railroads was formulated in those stirring days and soon taken up, fathered by the transportation brotherhoods and the coal miners. A number of wide-awake union heads constituted the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which paved the way for the La Follette campaign of 1924.

The A. F. of L. itself was caught in the net of such unpatriotic but made-in-America issues as the nationalization of certain basic industries and labor unity of action in politics. Not all the vigilance of the late Samuel Gompers succeeded in keeping that august body of labor inviolable. On the other hand, the torch of wartime spy mania and witch hunting was carried on by Daugherty and his Ohio gang. The Sacco-Vanzetti case was in the making. Deportation of undesirables was adopted as an instrument of national policy. The situation seethed with storm, and no seasoned captain was at hand to ride it. Not that sane radicals saw the possibility of revolution in the United States. Capitalism obviously was still a progressive force in the economic sense of the term. It was well in a position to pay its workers a subsistence wage and its stockholders an attractive dividend—the two essential conditions which together assure a safe bulwark against a revolutionary uprising. The country "did not need Communism," and so it could not "get in." But the labor movement seemed to be sorely in need of intellectual rejuvenation and physical overhauling. To the crying need of the hour, the leaders on both the trade-union and Socialist sides remained stone-deaf. In fact, the labor movement seemed to "need Communism," and at a later time Communism actually did "get into the movement."

It will not be maintained with any degree of reason that the Communist party was called into being by a significant force or string of circumstances, native to the American social and political scene. Even long after the party was launched, it merely expressed the reactions of immigrant circles to developments abroad, in Russia, Germany and England. Not until 1922 did a growing group of dissenters, in the native branches of the movement, despairing over the increasing immobility of the leaders of the official trade-union movement and Socialist organizations, begin to think in terms of new formations and alliances. A thought arose that perhaps the Communist group might serve a positive end. Of itself the Communist party grew out of a number of rather negative circumstances, which in turn affected its make-up and subsequent tactics.

(1) Toward the end of the War the Socialist party was in a state of intellectual dislocation and impotence. Many nationally known American members of the party had left the organization. William English Walling, Robert Hunter, Charles

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Edward Russell, John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Allan L. Benson, joined hands with the dollar-a-year patriots to wage the last war against war. Federal and local police terror forced all but a few devotees into hiding. Consistent opponents of the War were thoroughly disgusted with the developments. In Moscow, however, there was something actually doing. Moscow offered a clear-cut, determined leadership in the crisis. The Second (Socialist) Internationale had disintegrated. Instead, Moscow offered the Third (Communist) Internationale, a living, functioning body.

(2) The American Socialist movement never had a sustained policy toward the vexing trade-union problem. Moscow seemed to know all about it, and against the smug, self-contented leadership of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist vacillating attitude toward the Federation, Communism offered a program of action based on a firm orientation and clearly avowed objectives.

(3) Leadership in the Socialist and in the trade-union movements was a vested interest. The galaxy of dignitaries and high priests grew into their places, not unlike United States Supreme Court Justices—removable by impeachment or death only. Communism offered a reason for impeaching them and a promising technique of procedure. A group of young people was on hand, eager to take the places of the old. The Communist Internationale offered them the robes of a new authority and the weapon of an annihilating critique of the old. True enough, the Communist Internationale demanded a rigid observance of imposed rules and the faithful performance of duty. That was discomforting, but they who were asked to obey were also to be obeyed, which was a compensation.

(4) It soon became necessary, or it was made to appear so, for the party to operate in secret, and that surrounded the leaders with a romantic aura which threw into relief certain persons who in clear daylight would not otherwise be distinguishable. Under the conditions of secret existence no real activity was carried on or expected. The vestal virgins merely watched the sacred fires in each other's eyes and reported progress to Moscow. Laziness became a revolutionary virtue.

The unavoidable outcome of this melodramatic secrecy was the emergence of a new crop of leaders whose capacities only existed when their leadership was not required and whose faculties, except for the vocal ones, were completely atrophied. When the Communist party formally left their places of hiding to face the world and do business in terms of the world, the after-effect of revolutionary inactivity was such as to incapacitate it for any constructive work. Moscow was obliged to furnish mentors to watch the party's steps, but this plan led to no better results than that the melodrama soon developed into a genuine comedy. These mentors were furnished with interpreters who picked out and translated suitable quotations from the daily press. The mentors would then engage in strictures on what was the right course for an American party to follow. John Pepper, one-time member of the Bela Kun Soviet government of Hungary and as light a mental weight as ever drifted into this country, was the designated American leader until about two years ago, when he was removed and expelled. In 1923 he confidently declared that in one year there would be a functioning labor party in America with a membership of no less than two to three million. Accordingly the party proceeded to organize what was later named the Federated Farmer Labor party, an instantaneous and complete fiasco. Pepper spoke no English, but his words counted.

The Communist party from the outset turned to the trade-union field in search of an operating base. It blundered and wandered a good deal. It started with tall talk of forming shop councils, and was ready to lead the proletariat in a genuine and wholesale uprising against the old leadership. It soon enough realized, or was made to realize, the futility of these efforts. In 1922 it descended from the clouds of the impossible and aroused the hopes of some of the progressive and influential leaders of the American movement. The party organized the Trade Union Educational League, which was to offer a neutral basis of coöperation between the Communists and progressives. The general program of the T. U. E. L. aimed at the modernization of the structure of trade unionism and at adapting obsolete methods of action and procedures to changed post-war conditions. Effectiveness, responsibility and an irreducible minimum of honesty were the first things to strive for.

The task of the Communists in this alliance of progressives was formulated by William Z. Foster in a pamphlet, "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement," which became the bible of the newly oriented radicals. Formerly a syndicalist, Foster now stormed against the dualist fallacies of De Leonism and I. W. W.-ism in the past, and against the policy of bleeding the regular unions white by withdrawing red, radical blood from them. The Communist Internationale after its third congress, in 1921, supported the new policy. It advised its adherents to

> learn how to influence unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist group is subject to the control of the party, and not the union as a whole. If the Communist groups succeed, if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions.

In 1924, three years later, the Communist Internationale stated:

> Leninism on the field of the trade-union movement is the struggle against splitting in any form. He who seriously aims to win the majority of the working class cannot regard lightly the unity of the trade-union movement.

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Even as late as 1926, the Sixth Plenum of the Commintern (Communist Internationale) still insisted:

> The splitting up, or the destruction of, any trade union whatever is a blow to the entire international trade-union movement, to the whole Communist Internationale.

The Communist or Workers' party at first met with considerable success. In the year or two of its coöperation with the progressives it made significant strides. The T. U. E. L. gained authority as an honest means to those ends toward which the progressives and Communists seemed to move in common. Foster was trusted by the progressives and he had fine standing in the trade-union movement. But the party had not outlived its "infantile disorders," as Lenin had aptly dubbed the Communists' urge to be, in their way, *plus royaliste que le roi*. Foster's effective coöperation with the progressives aroused their distrust. The sane and hard-headed discussions of trade-union situations which appeared in The Labor Herald under Foster's editorship, and which he carried on in open meetings, were a thorn in the flesh to those who were accustomed to talk in adjectives and to think in exclamation points. His growing popularity did not please those who had earlier ascended to leadership on merits other than sanity or a knowledge of America's political and industrial topography.

Several victories in 1924 and 1925, achieved by the left wing under the party tutelage, made the Communist party "dizzy with success." All caution and tact were thrown to the wind. The party began to behave both in the T. U. E. L. and in the progressive minority groupings as if they were its eminent domain. The T. U. E. L. was turned into a subcommittee of the party. Progressives who did not choose to act as rubber stamps in the hands of the Communist partyites were made short shrift of. Honest but unrevolutionary progressives like John Fitzpatrick, Edward Nockels and John Brophy were alienated. The whole Chicago Federation of Labor, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, were maligned, viciously attacked. Unripe issues were forced. The party entirely overlooked the fact that the thin layers of labor and the relatively few labor leaders who were willing to work along with the Communist party did so not because of their acceptance of Communism, but despite their disbelief in it. The party was preparing for a declaration of independence from the labor movement to be followed by a fight on the labor movement itself.

In 1925-1926, the left wing was in actual power in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and in the Fur Workers' International. They manned the local offices in most of these unions in New York and were in complete control of the two joint boards in New York and Chicago. Their arbitrary party rule and their complete disregard of industrial expediency left no room for doubt as to what was to become of the unions under party control. A disastrous strike of 30,000 cloak makers was incurred for reasons of the party's political policy. An early settlement of the strike was rejected on the same grounds. No more tact in the use, or rather abuse, of power was employed by the left wing than was customary under the conservatives' rule. Expulsions and eliminations, favoritism and politics ran riot. A writer in The Daily Worker, in a series of prominently featured articles in May and June of this year, speaking of the Second Convention of the Needle Workers' Industrial Union, refers to his comrades' course in those days: "Failure to overhaul the old, rotten, obsolete apparatus resulted in the left wing following in the footsteps of the old bureaucracy."

To add injury to disillusionment, the industrial improvements promised by the opposition when they fought the old guard did not materialize. The pendulum swung back. The masses of trade unionists ceased to look for Messiahs or even for effective aids in the professional lefts. The national officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and of the Fur Workers' International Union initiated a counter-offensive, followed by similar reprisals in the other affected unions. As would be expected in this war on their adversaries, the rights showed no greater consideration for constitutional procedure and democratic method than the Communists had during the short time they had been in power. The rights treated the lefts to a strong dose of their own medicine. The comeback of the rights was a war of extermination, and no quarter was either asked or given.

The Passaic strike of 1926 was the last battle of the Communists in which they were not surrounded by a trade-union *cordon sanitaire*. They lost ground in the International Association of Machinists, in the Railroad Brotherhoods and among the shopmen. In the United Mine Workers they were outlawed. The Communists found themselves practically deprived of any chance of open activity in the trade unions. That they had only themselves to blame for the situation was perhaps food for reflection, but the party would not feed on it. Instead they turned against the policy of boring from within. The promotion of dual, party-controlled unions became the *mot d'ordre* of 1927. For reasons of its own, Moscow returned to the trade-union policy which it had rejected five years earlier. Foster saw the light and changed his mind once more. The old trade-union leaders had the aid of the Communists themselves in forcing the left wing into isolation. The Communists made a virtue of the new course, but not much of a success.

The Needle Workers' Industrial Union, the first union to be launched under direct party auspices, was created soon after the Communists were forced out of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It has been an outstanding failure. It has

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only scattered groups, no membership in a union sense, no industrial standing. Mr. Charles S. Zimmerman, for years a leading officer in the needle trade's left wing and now in one of the Communist opposition groups, writes in The Revolutionary Age about the second convention of the N. W. I. U.:

> bluff, self-deception, an absence of criticism and cheap maneuvers characterized the preparations for the convention. . . . The convention was allowed to elect only one committee, which assumed all power to propose the personnel of all the committees. Not a single delegate who was opposed to or had a critical attitude toward the official policy was placed on any of the convention committees. The minority was not given any representation at all on the new general executive board which consists of forty-seven members.

These were the very abuses which the lefts had charged the rights with practising and which they had fought against. The N. W. I. U. counts 6,000 members in a jurisdiction of about 500,000. Of these 6,000 only very few pay dues.

The National Textile Workers' Union, the party's second effort in dualism, has never been more than a paper organization. It made a feeble effort to function in the textile strike of 1928 in New Bedford, Massachusetts. It obtained a good deal of publicity, but little support from the textile workers in general, and none from those organized in the old unions. Its weakness was demonstrated when it unsuccessfully urged the workers to oppose a compromise settlement of the strike involving a 5-percent wage cut agreed to by the officers of the United Textile Workers, the old-time union in the city. The Communist union in New Bedford, which at one time boasted of 4,000 out of 26,000 textile workers, now counts but 200 or 300. The recent drive of the Communist National Textile Workers' Union for 5,000 new members, according to a report made by a national union officer and published in The Daily Worker (June 6, 1930), brought in, after eleven weeks, not even 10 percent of that number. In New York the drive netted only fifteen new members.

The National Textile Workers' Union had its opportunity in the South in 1929. It began in grand style in Gastonia, where it had the whole stage to itself. The organizers exhibited their usual skill at dramatization. They rendered devoted service, unstinted and courageous, but all their energy was directed toward "sharpening the struggle" and "deepening the political meaning of the economic conflict." No thought was given toward planning settlements of the strike or toward establishing an industrial relationship on a contractual basis, if or when the strike was won. In Gastonia, as everywhere else, strikes were carried on with no other idea of a settlement than either a complete surrender by the employers or an unconditional return of the workers to their jobs. The finale of the strike in the courts of North Carolina was turned by the party's defense policy into the business of manufacturing martyred saints; it was not used for the purpose of arousing the textile workers in the South to greater trade-union consciousness. At all times the N. T. W. U. has remained but a shadow of itself—a subcommittee of the party. The union's officers have been appointed and fired to suit the demands of the contending factors in the party. Albert Weisbord, who, as general secretary of the N. T. W. U., "made Passaic famous," was unceremoniously removed from office when Moscow, during a period of acute Stalinization, had a suspicion that Foster might be a Trotsky man and Weisbord a Fosterite.

The National Mine Workers' Union, which is reported to have only 400 dues-paying members, seems to be in no better shape. It is another empty shell. In the present conflict raging between the John L. Lewis administration of the U. M. W. of A. and the Illinois Miners' Union—whose progressive leaders hope to free the union of the reactionary Lewis control—the Communist union has played the *tertius gaudens*. Perhaps it really has had a good time of it, but at no time has it done a thing to aid in the miners' struggle to clean the Augean stables of Lewis unionism, nor has it attempted to solve the pivotal issue of regaining the mines for unionism. And yet only some five years ago the progressives, headed by John Brophy, rallied very great numbers in support of a progressive program of constructive industrialism and honest unionism. So great was the support that Mr. Lewis, whose men did the counting of the votes in the election of national officers, felt constrained to concede to Brophy about 40 percent of the votes. They could do no less and get away with it, and they could do no more without having Lewis quit the union. The Communists stepped in and quickly gained control of the progressive movement, but lost the miners in the process.

In the other industries and trades, matters stood no differently. The Independent Shoe Workers' Union was reduced from 5,000 to 200. In the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union, an independent and radical organization, a split was ordered in the name of a bigger and better radicalism. The very latest independent union counts 500 members, and that number will stand as long as their initiation dues will keep them on the membership roll of the organization.

The evils of the trade-union situation which seemed, in 1922-1923, to demand that "something should be done," have not been mitigated by the Communist party's incursion into the field. On the contrary. The strangle-hold grip of the reactionaries on the established unions has been strengthened and the trade-union movement itself has been much weakened in consequence. Only where the Communists did not enter has progressivism survived. The effective functioning of an honest, con-

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structive opposition to the prevailing old regime in trade unionism has been made well nigh impossible, because of misdirection and splitting up of the thin layer of progressivism by the party. The course of reckless party control which the Communists followed wherever they had their way has supplied the reactionaries with a convenient intellectual alibi for resorting to rough-neck and high-handed methods in dealing with nonconformists and dissenters. They no longer need to be bashful about what they do; they quote The Daily Worker. The demonstrated inability of the Communists to deal with concrete industrial situations to the practical advantage of the workers in industry has been skillfully used by the reactionaries as a warning against any and all change of union policy. The utter indifference of the Communists to realities and trends in the general American scene and their reluctance to deal with these in realistic terms are accountable for the amazing impasse in which they have placed themselves—the Communist party versus the labor movement.

J. B. S. HARDMAN.

Mr. Hardman in his third article, which will appear next week, considers the Russian influence upon and the foreign elements within the American Communist party.—THE EDITORS.

The Power Trust Goes International

WHEN Ambassador Sackett defied the wrath of Mr. Samuel Insull and delivered his speech against the high distribution charges for electric power before the assembled members of the World Power Conference in Berlin, he did something more than jar the power companies' relations with consumers in the United States. For his speech, delivered in the European stronghold of public ownership, tended to disrupt the vast plans of an international power combine whose potentialities, political as well as economic, appear almost limitless.

It was for this reason that the American power men, led by Mr. Insull, went to great lengths to suppress the Ambassador's speech. And it was also the reason why they undammed a flood of answers and explanations immediately after the now famous speech was delivered. For though the power combination has been given but slight attention in the press, its influence and growth have been prodigious. Moreover, it is a predominantly American enterprise, or, to express it in a different way, it is the Power Trust gone international.

Recent investigations conducted by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee and by the Federal Trade Commission have brought to light the origins and forces behind it. Among other things these investigations disclosed the fact that American participation in the World Power Conference was designed to promote concentration of power control on a world-wide front. As far back as 1923 the Electric Bond and Share Company, an enormous power organization controlled by General Electric, along with a few other power companies, began to promote an American wing to the conference.

This American wing was to all intents and purposes exclusively a Power Trust organization. American participation in the conference at London in 1924 was mainly financed by the power companies, by General Electric and by Westinghouse. Moreover, a $50,000 annual budget was underwritten by the National Electric Light Association before this year's power conference was held in Berlin. This sum, the Senate committee learned, is to be contributed by the power companies and related interests, or indirectly by American consumers of electricity through the power companies' highly elastic "operating expenses."

The Senate committee also disclosed the extraordinarily close relationship between the government and the American wing of the Power Conference. So conspicuous was this almost incestuous relationship that any foreign representative might well have mistaken the American group for a semiofficial body. President Hoover himself, when he was Secretary of Commerce, gave it his official blessing at the time of its organization, while Secretary of Commerce Lamont and the retiring members of the Federal Power Commission —Secretaries Wilbur, Hyde and Hurley—are all honorary officers. Secretary Wilbur accounted for this by modestly explaining to the Senate committee that the Cabinet members were only "put in for window dressing."

This year, however, there was so much criticism during the sessions of the Senate Commerce Committee and upon the Senate floor that direct government participation in the conference at Berlin was largely curtailed. A number of government officials who were to address the gathering found it advisable to withdraw from all participation.

However, discussion went on, and inasmuch as the Power Trust was present, one naturally finds in the reports of the conference a great deal of red-hot propaganda for turning over publicly owned power resources and equipment to private exploitation. This was particularly true of the first World Power Conference at London, where the American contingent indulged in any number of inspired eulogies of private ownership. To overcome the arguments which the foreign delegates might ad-

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vance, the Americans painted in the brightest colors regulation by public agencies as an effective and equitable compromise between public and private control of the utilities. Needless to say, this propaganda had been planned long in advance, as George Otis Smith, director of the Geological Survey and one of the American delegates to the conference, himself admitted.

But who is behind all this propaganda and this attempt to extend the ownership of utilities into a world-wide trust? First of all, there is the Electric Bond and Share Company. This vast organization which, as the Federal Trade Commission disclosed, is controlled by General Electric interests, has two-thirds of all its investments in foreign interprises. Much of its profits, released capital and credit resources have been poured into the purchase and development of foreign plants. These foreign plants have, it would seem, been even more successful than those in the United States.

The most important of all the subsidiary companies which Electric Bond and Share controls is the American and Foreign Power Company. This company was formed in 1923 at about the same time that the London World Power Conference was being planned. In this company are drawn together all the American electric interests which, out of passing respect to public relations and the anti-trust laws, maintain in their companies within the United States a semblance of separate identity. These nominally diverse interests supply directors for American and Foreign Power who meet under the protective shade of Electric Bond and Share. At the directors' table, for example, one finds Sidney Z. Mitchell, chairman of Bond and Share; Owen D. Young, chairman of General Electric; Sosthenes Behn, president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and George H. Howard, president of the United Corporation, the great Morgan-Bonbright holding company. George Roberts, a member of the law firm from which President Hoover drew his Secretary of State, is another director. It will be remembered that the Federal Trade Commission disclosed the fact that about two years ago the power leaders sent Roberts to Washington in an attempt to convince Senator Walsh that they had not issued $2,000,000,000 of watered stock. He was unsuccessful. Roberts also holds a directorship in the American Superpower Corporation, of which Stimson was a director before he became Secretary of State.

Under the directorship of these eminent gentlemen the American and Foreign Power Company has so extended its ownings that it now controls properties in twelve countries and holds minority interests in companies of five others. Approximately 10,000,000 people in 643 communities of Mexico, Cuba, Central and South America, Italy, France, Germany, Japan and British Columbia look to this Electric Bond and Share subsidiary for their gas and electricity. Many of them also pay this company for telephone and street-car service, and even for their water and ice.

American and Foreign Power has been particularly successful in Latin America, where it has gained control of properties formerly in the hands of British owners. This conquest has been heralded as a triumph for American engineering and operating methods. It has also gained control of the Shanghai electric plant, which serves a population of more than 1,000,000 people. This plant was formerly owned by the International Settlement. Moreover, in April of this year a holding company known as the Far East Power Corporation was sandwiched in between American and Foreign Power Company and Shanghai Power Company, the subsidiary which operates this Shanghai plant that was publicly owned. In reference to this combine, Standard Statistics notes significantly, "It was said that the capital of the Shanghai Power Company had been raised from a nominal amount to 5,000,000 shares of no par value, in conjunction with formation of the Far East Power Corporation." This holding company is to control other plants that may be acquired in the Far East.

Aside from the properties which their subsidiary companies control, General Electric and Bond and Share are likewise represented, with Bonbright and Company, in the Italian Superpower Corporation. This corporation is credited with interests in practically all the important light and power companies of Italy. There are Italians on the board, it is true, but Sidney Z. Mitchell is chairman of the executive committee. Moreover, recent news dispatches inform us of the organization of a new holding company to invest in electric companies of the United Kingdom. Needless to say, Bond and Share is one of its most important sponsors.

Along with the international expansion of the Power Trust there has also developed a general world-wide expansion of electrical manufacturing and electrical communications. Although their bewildering ramifications have no place here, their substantial unity with the expanding power industry is significant. The General Electric Company, while acquiring extensive manufacturing interests abroad, holds a dominant position in the Radio Corporation of America. This corporation operates international wireless service and is linked through Morgan and Company with International Telephone and Telegraph, which has obtained franchises for telephone service in foreign lands.

All the foregoing facts which I have presented will suggest, perhaps, the enormous rapidity with which the Power Trust is marching with giant strides across the globe. It makes and sells the machinery for producing energy. It distributes the energy it generates. It is gaining more and more control over telephone and telegraph systems and particularly over the radio, which it will use as a medium of propaganda to forward its own plans for even greater expansion. And as it expands it

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brings the holding-company form of organization along with it. But, perhaps as the most dangerous aspect of its ever increasing strength, it is beginning, as its propaganda during the World Power Conference made only too evident, to undermine the faith in publicly owned utilities, and to this purpose it is utilizing methods which have become all too familiar to citizens here.

M. L. RAMSAY.

Peasants and Lords in China

The following article, which describes conditions among the peasants in the interior of China, is particularly interesting just now, when uprisings in the Yangtze Valley, described as being Communist in character, provide a serious threat to the Nanking government.—THE EDITORS.

AT WUSIH one early morning, five of us boarded a launch and took a four-hour trip into a northern district where, on August 28, 1928, one thousand peasants had risen against the big landowners. The peasants had been defeated and had left forty dead behind them. For some time we waited in our launch in one of the many canals of Wusih, before proceeding upcountry where the landowners, like the lords of the Middle Ages, live in great houses guarded by soldiers, while the peasants in surrounding villages exist in a poverty equal to anything the Middle Ages ever produced.

The launch in which we sat was filled with upcountry peasants who watched every move we made and talked about us in undertones. Suddenly, a tall Chinese stepped into the launch. He was about fifty years of age, and was dressed in a long gray silk gown, soft, heelless Chinese slippers and a little round black cap. With him was an armed bodyguard in khaki uniform, with the Kuomintang sign in his cap. This tall Chinese, we learned, was the most powerful man in the district we were going to visit. He is the head of the powerful family Chu, a rich landowner, and known far and wide as the "Communist-killer." Because of this he must always go accompanied by an armed bodyguard lest some innocent-appearing peasant or boatman should suddenly rise up and send him to his last resting place. With the manner of a man accustomed to commanding, he offered us the hospitality of his home and the protection of his soldiers. There are no inns in many Chinese villages, and to refuse the offer made us or to live elsewhere than in the home of the powerful would have made us prey to suspicion and perhaps arrest. So we accepted the offer, knowing that from that moment onward we should be regarded as enemies by the peasants.

The head of the house of Chu left, but turned us over to the care of a member of his family who was also on the launch, an elegant young man, handsome to the point of beauty and dressed in a long, expensive woolen gown. As our launch chugged its way northward, an armed soldier sat in the corner and played endlessly on a Chinese violin. Through the music we listened to our young host talk to his wife about the new rifles he and his father had bought in Wusih. Landlords may have rifles; peasants may not.

In the late afternoon we reached the little trading town of An-chen. A row of ragged men, women and children stood silently on the bank and watched us land. An old man, clad in a few strips of rags, bore the unmistakable marks of an opium addict. Guarded by two additional soldiers awaiting us at the landing place, we were taken through the streets to the central political bureau. The streets were so narrow that we could almost touch the houses on either side if we stretched out our arms, and we could reach up and touch the eaves. As in other places in China, the shops were all open, with the entire inside visible, and in these shops stood rows of men, women and children, watching us as we passed. A crowd of children came running from side alleys, and before long the street was filled with them, crowding close to see the two of us who were foreigners. The little street resounded with the sharp click of our shoes on the flagstones, the soft patter of the bare feet of children, the muffled march of the soldiers in their soft shoes, the fluttering and squawking of chickens flying in fright from our path, and the barking of dogs.

Welcomed by the well guarded political bureau, and served the tea that is placed before all guests, we finally left the little town and walked through the countryside for half an hour toward Chu Cha-li, a distant village named after the family Chu. The road was but a footpath, and we walked Indian-fashion, one soldier before and one following. It was getting dark. A few miles before us circled a range of high hills, and to our right dreamed a large bamboo thicket. The soldiers explained that during the day the peasants work in the fields, but at night they gather secretly in the hills. In August, 1928, the bamboo thicket to our left was the gathering place of the armed peasants before they attacked Chu Cha-li. Each day, the soldiers continued, the Chu family and their armed retainers capture peasants known or thought to belong to the Communist party. Two days before our arrival they had caught and shot two, and the day before they were just on the point of capturing two more when a ragged boatman gave some secret signal to the peasants and they escaped. An intellectual of some kind had recently come from the city to help the peasants, and the Chu family was scouring the countryside for him. But the peasants are cunning devils and they hide him so securely that he cannot be found.

The soldiers gossiped and answered our questions readily. They were not from the district, could not speak the dialect, and had little or no feeling of solidarity with the peasants. Yet they themselves were from peasant families and were paid eight or ten dollars a month for their services. This money went far with their poor families, who lived in the northernmost part of the province or even in Shantung. The soldiers belong to what the Kuomintang and the Nanking government call the Volunteer Corps, organized by the landlords and the chambers of commerce. They have taken the place of the revolutionary peasant leagues that were destroyed by the White terror after the establishment of the Nanking government in 1927. The character of these so-called Volunteer Corps, which are in reality mercenary troops of the big landowners and business men, is evident from the fact that they are

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stationed not only in the village of Chu Cha-li, but right in the house of Chu, the richest landowner.

Chu Cha-li is a village composed exclusively of some twenty landlord families. The family Chu is a joint family, and is composed of about twenty-five members, all living under one roof. The buildings of this village dominate the flat countryside, their white, windowless walls forming a high medieval fortress on three sides. The fourth side is cut off from approach by a broad, canal-like lake. The entire village is surrounded by a barricade of barbed wire with armed soldiers stationed behind it. When we passed through the gate we saw that trenches had been dug within the enclosure, behind which the soldiers lie to fight, and that each of the heavy wooden gates of the homes had loopholes for rifle firing.

We passed through the door of the house of Chu into a long, broad hall such as one reads about in stories of the Middle Ages in Europe. Huge red pillars supported the roof. There was no ceiling. Without an opportunity even to wash our hands or rest a bit after our eight-hour journey, we were seated at a square table in the middle of the hall and served tea with a devastating pomp and solemnity. The oldest member of the Chu family, a man beyond fifty in a long blue silk robe, served us personally, rising and pouring the tea the servants brought. We learned later that he is the government political agent of the district and the official tax collector.

The hall in which we sat was dusky. The only light came from the open door, for there were no windows. The walls were hung with gorgeous crimson silk banners on which were Chinese characters in gold. They had been hung in celebration of the wedding four days before of a younger member of the family. Servants brought great red candles and placed them in giant bronze candlesticks of intricate design that stood on a long, narrow, carved mahogany table against one side of the room. The young bridegroom, a youth about eighteen years of age, dressed in a foreign suit, came out to meet us. He spoke English and is a student at the Central University. At our request the bride appeared also. She was a young girl, somewhat older than her husband, and had graduated from a normal school in Wusih, after which she had been a kindergarten teacher. Here, revealed against their feudal background, were two representatives of the so-called "modern China" that is attempting to rule the country today.

At our invitation the young bride dined with us, and the tea blended into a supper served with the same formality. We made a desperate attempt to keep up a conversation before the audience that surrounded our table. The entire Chu family, with many of their neighboring friends and reinforced by the soldiers, had gathered to watch and listen. Hoping to work up some kind of intelligent conversation, we tried to talk about education with the bride. She formally and politely told us that the Chinese are by nature a race inferior to the foreigners! Instructed by a friend in our party, I at last worked up an equal amount of hypocrisy, arose and proposed a toast to the bride and groom. As we all stood, our cups of rice wine held before us, there came the shuffling of feet and the rattling of chains from a corner of the great hall. The surrounding crowd and the dim light from the candles prevented us from seeing far. Later we accompanied the young couple to their bedroom, furnished in rich mahogany, where we were served pears and tea. Then we returned to the hall to talk with the soldiers. The rattle of chains, they told me, was caused by the arrest and imprisonment of two peasants whom they had just caught. These peasants were not imprisoned in any jail, but right in the house of Chu. The soldiers took two candles and led us into an empty room at the front of the house, leading off the hall. It was dark, cold and empty. In the corner, on a pile of dirty straw, lay two ragged miserable peasants, chained hand and foot. One was a man perhaps forty years of age, with a thin, keen, intelligent face, while the other was a boy perhaps twenty years of age, but with a stupid look. The two men lay on their backs and stared up at us. No one spoke a word.

One of our party took me by the arm and, saying we would take a walk, led me out into the night. The moon was full, white and cold, and everything far and wide was bathed in a silver silence. Beyond crouched the bamboo thicket, and in the distance lay the sleeping hills where the waking peasants gather at night. "You are living through history," the friend with me said. And I answered, "It is easier to read it."

A sleepless night followed. I rose with the first early streaks of dawn, pushed back the huge wooden bar that shut our inner apartment off from the rest of the house, and went out into the great hall. A tall man, dark and powerful, a member of the house of Chu, was striding back and forth. Around his long gray gown was slung a cartridge belt from which hung a Mauser revolver. Presently he ordered the soldiers to bring out one of the peasants. They brought out the young man with the stupid face, pushed back his broad sleeves, laid his arms together and chained them. Then they pulled the sleeves down carefully over the chains and wrists. It seemed as if the boy had tucked his hands in his sleeves to keep them warm. A number of other men, heavily armed, drew on ordinary workmen's jackets, hiding their weapons. They then drove the peasant before them. We were told they were taking him to a village where he had promised to betray his peasant leader. He walked away in the gray morning like a stupid animal, his shoulders bent, his head down. We did not know what methods had been used to make him do this thing.

During the day we visited seven different villages that lay between Chu Cha-li and the encircling hills. Soldiers accompanied us, as did two members of the house of Chu. The peasants stopped work in the fields and silently watched us pass. A number of the villages were occupied exclusively by tenants of the family Chu, and even named after the family. With the exception of one village in which there were twenty-nine families, somewhat better off, we saw nothing but indescribable poverty, dirt and disease. The homes of the tenants were holes surrounded by walls, and with earthen floors. The beds were boards supported by old pots and covered by filthy strips of rags. There was one tenant family consisting of a father, mother and three little children. Three other children had died in their first year and the scrawny little thing at the mother's

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breast was clearly doomed also. This family cultivated two and a half mows of land (one mow is a sixth of an acre) and as rent paid more than half of their annual income to the landowner. For their bare living they depend upon the generosity of the landowner for many months in the year, and they are slaves in perpetuity to him because of the money he has lent them.

The landlord perhaps suspected the silence that settled upon us, for he began to tell us of the dishonesty of the peasants. So dishonest they are, he said, that during the harvest he has to send guards to watch the harvesting lest the peasants hide away a part of the crop for themselves, and then divide with him only what is left. The peasants are so poor that not one family owns all the primitive agricultural implements necessary in the fields. Some of them, existing in a destitution that no words can portray, smiled and bowed respectfully and nervously, even beseechingly, before the Chus. Some drew out bunches of reaped rice to show the rust that had destroyed one-third of the year's crops. Other peasants stood silently and watched, with folded arms. When asked questions they did not answer, their black eyes only watching us steadily. From others we learned that although there are no newspapers in these districts, every man, woman and child, even in the most distant village, knew of us from the moment we stepped on the launch at Wusih, and they knew of our coming from village to village in advance.

We learned also that far beyond lay other villages, but that they existed in a destitution even worse than what we had seen. In this district, however, the peasants are organized and militant. They are gathering weapons. They go without food and give their coppers to a fund to buy guns. For this reason members of the house of Chu, though they wield great economic and political power, dare not approach any group of peasants without a bodyguard. They dare not step outside their village without soldiers. Day and night their wealth and their lives must be guarded. And the encircling hills in which the peasants gather at night seem to creep closer and closer to them.

Shanghai, China. AGNES SMEDLEY.

High Stream's End

A place is lost and ghosted that I knew.
There was a brook, and nemoral the shade,
Where shadow stroked the dappled side of light,
And where the ouzel plunged, that brown mermaid.

It was a canyon, and the winterwater
From grooves of mountain snow did straight descend—
An emerald alley in the wilderness
With pillar of fluted water at the end.

And bronze eventual the leopard lily
Or mother-of-gold her light pagoda built,
And stealthy hung her spotted banners out,
A secret queen upon precarious gilt—

For now with hardly whither! all has vanished
And where, in summer's mania, none can tell.
The lily's court is dust, and only remains
The quail, a delirious jester, without a bell.

HILDEGARDE FLANNER.

The Younger Mask

IN THIS Texas house where I am staying, the young lady and her grandmother are occupying the library; a lively talk is going on. I have one of the lounging chairs on the terrace outside. It is evening, around nine o'clock. The sky is pointed everywhere with stars, which shine in that strange space of darkness resting on a paler dusk below. The color of the sky is built up on black—or we should say so if it were a canvas—like a Spanish painting. There is not only a curious haunting poetry tonight in these heavens, so far to the south, but something of the grand style also; it is not clear as it so often is, not brilliant and blue, but has something harsh and grandiose, as well as serene and ancient; and yet there are no clouds, only the sea of the wide heavens, the troubled milky way, the low wind moving the branches of trees, the sharp, innumerable stars and constellations.

Not the shadows of leaves on the white wall, nor the bright evening star in the west, where the Helotes hills are duskier even than the sky, nor Orion, which is so bright, nor any other of those thick galaxies above me, can long distract me from the sounds of the library talk nearby. It is not a conversation but a monologue that is under way. The young lady is one of this year's graduates from college; what college I have not yet asked, but her way of mentioning it tells me it is one of those four or five great female institutions of the East. I have already gathered that at college she has done serious—or at least masculine—studies, and that she and the other students have talked broadly and experienced much. Indeed, as I listen to the conversation now, with so much about the experiments in sex—love has not been mentioned so far—that this slender blonde creature has made, and is now regaling her grandmother with, I am obliged to wonder whether a sort of young-men mews, royal stables as it were, are kept near the college for these mate-eating and lovely young-women spiders, or whether the week-ends are wholly bacchantic, or the younger professors reduced to shreds. I seem to be listening to the oddest combination of egotism, lechery and social science that was ever afforded, all expressed in an open, spirited, dull vocabulary which I cannot imagine the grandmother has yet mastered or often heard.

Life is a wild thing, that is manifest, for not far away there begins a guitar, strumming its masculine music, strumming like the pulse of this summer night, then a violin comes in, and finally a pipe or a strange flute. I know that music and that air: *No seas tonta, mujer, no seas tonta,* how gay and sad and wild it is! This Mexican music is like Sicily, where the Arab scale lingers among country songs; this energy and poignancy together must have roots that go deep down. Deep down into what?

I should have thought that question answered, for a woman's voice has begun to sing. It is one of those bright Mexican voices, shrill and velvety at once; the song is a kind of extravaganza, uncertain until the end, when it takes over those last lines of Donizetti's aria for Lucia's mad scene, florid and difficult, no longer reasonable, right enough with that lovely voice, removed a little by the light wind stirring the leaves and the rustling vine leaves below the terrace balustrade. But the song ends without seeming

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to have answered anything; it is no nearer than the night and the stars. What these musicians are about, or where they may be, I do not know, not even that; some evening party has engaged them, or they are walking along the road together amusing themselves with their music. But in them and in the whole scene around and about me, I feel some echo and reëcho of life, all untouched by time and known as dimly still as in any age. The whole of it seems now to me as deep as our own inner darkness and as strange as our own inner light. It is the thing that all our poetry, love and silence has always been about, and time has no reality concerning it.

But this the young lady evidently would not confirm; with the music stopped, it is the same line of argument that I hear her carrying on. Life is quite clear to her and her friends, I gather; they are rid of the bunk; they know. I have no objection to their knowing, if only they seemed less restless and unsatisfied with the results of their lucid powers. The thought occurs to me of how good it would be if some organ of this young lady's could begin to rush from side to side within her, so that she might thus carry her own inner speed and motion and not be so harried over time and speed as she now is. But her heart, liver or any other part, alas, is, like the stars, quite fixed, and her chemistry, like this sky and the music, not without a mystery. I must turn to the grandmother, elegant, wise old creature, in that cool dress with its bow of black velvet at the waist, with her white hair, her still hands, and her vocabulary so shamefully much larger than her granddaughter's, despite the fact of her having so few private revelations to make and so many reserves to maintain.

As I listen I find myself asking why this woman, so much older, should have to listen to such a prattle of egotism, obstetrics and spattered modern reading. But she is wise in her own way, perhaps. I hear only a chuckle now and then or a mere yes or no. Perhaps she believes the young granddaughter a mere child, and by her own experiences knows how much of this talk is mere chatter, unrest, youth, bluff and lies meant to startle. She may know exactly how touching this defiance is, this wish to shock those who have been responsible for one's generation. Perhaps she thinks all this talk of the younger generation is only a pattern danced against the beat, as some modern dancers have shown us on the ballet stage. Perhaps, as another woman, she knows that one encounter with something quiet, passionate and ageless would settle all this tumult of shallow theory and deep vitality. Perhaps from this frank abandonment, she gets something by way of compensation for a somewhat too fostered innocence when she was a young girl. The main reason she listens, however, is, I fancy, only because a part of her wise knowledges has come from listening to life as it creeps up to her ear to ease itself, sometimes troubled, sometimes happy, empty, baffled or bluffing.

As for my feeling about all this more or less self-conscious deluge poured forth there indoors, I shall not indulge in the "younger generation" phrase. It seems to me long since overworked. I only know that our young lady could be knocked off her props with half a dozen biting words, delivered without any wonder or amazement at this phenomenon that she and her compeers are supposed to present. All I need to fear in her is the presence within her of whatever has always been the core of our human life and destiny; the rest of her is only in the nature of a sort of hasty, noisy statistics, made with little resonance or imagination and with none too much confidence. All I need to pity in her is what has gone on among us forever: this building up the mask that is to pass for ourselves, and that will be most of our little transient drama and half of final defeat.

STARK YOUNG.

The Original Mooney Report

Question occasionally rises, in the minds of those who do not remember the full history of the affair, why so many persons firmly believe that injustice has been done in the case of Mooney and Billings. The report submitted to President Wilson twelve years ago by his Mediation Commission furnishes ample ground for that belief. This distinguished Commission, on the basis of what was known at that time, recommended a new trial, which Mooney and Billings have never had. Time has not weakened the soundness of the Commission's report. Oxman's testimony remains discredited, and this alone is enough to justify pardons. In addition, the two other principal witnesses for the prosecution, MacDonald and Estelle Smith, have repudiated their original testimony. It is preposterous to suppose that if Mooney and Billings were to be retried before a jury today there would be the slightest chance of their conviction. This is the point at issue: two men, however reprehensible anyone may think them, have been in prison for fourteen years as the direct result of false testimony—THE EDITORS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
January 16, 1918.

THE PRESIDENT:

Agreeable to your instructions, your Mediation Commission, informally and without publicity, inquired into the circumstances attending the Mooney case, and herewith begs to report the result of its investigation.

(1) On July 22, 1916, while the San Francisco preparedness parade was in early progress, an explosion occurred on one of the city's side streets filled with paraders and the public. Without question, the explosion was murder designed on a large scale, and its purpose was effectuated. Six people were killed outright and about forty were wounded, of whom three or four subsequently died. Indisputably a most heinous crime had been committed. The identification of its perpetrators alone had to be established.

(2) The community was deeply stirred. Aggressive activity was at once taken by the police department, and the press was filled with clues and theories for the solution of the tragic mystery. No premonitory acts furnished a clue, except that a number of letters were mailed, prior to the parade, to prominent citizens and leaders in the movement for the parade, threatening destruction if the parade be undertaken. These letters undoubtedly had a common source. They all avowed pacifist purposes of threats of violence against such manifestations of "militarism" as a preparedness parade was conceived by them to

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be. The public authorities, however, did not deem these letters significant and the identity of their writers has never been established.

(3) The police and the district attorney turned for explanation to a different quarter. Arrests were made of Thomas J. Mooney and his wife, Rena Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Israel Weinberg and Edward D. Nolan.

(4) The antecedents of these five persons, particularly Thomas J. Mooney, have occasioned the War importance of the case. Mooney at the time of his arrest was a well known labor radical on the Pacific coast. He associated with anarchists. He was a believer in "direct action" in labor controversies. He had once been indicted for attempted dynamiting of property of a San Francisco utility, but after three trials was acquitted. In the spring of 1916, Mooney and his wife were leaders in a bitter and unsuccessful fight to organize the carmen of the United Railroads of San Francisco. Only shortly before the preparedness-parade explosion, it was sought to connect Mooney with the recent dynamiting of towers of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. In a word, there can be no doubt that Mooney was regarded as a labor agitator of malevolence by the utilities of San Francisco, and that he was the special object of their opposition. Mrs. Mooney, a music teacher respected by a wide circle of pupils, was sympathetic with his general social views. Billings, a youth touched by radical propaganda, was one of Mooney's friends. He, too, was a believer in "direct action." He had been previously convicted of carrying explosives on a passenger car. Weinberg, whose son was a pupil of Mrs. Mooney, was a jitney-bus driver who had occasionally driven the Mooneys. Nolan was a radical labor leader of some prominence and a friend of Mooney's. Mooney is the center of the case; the other defendants have significance only because of relation to him.

(5) The utilities against which Mooney directed his agitation, or who suspected him of mischievous activity, undoubtedly sought to "get" Mooney. Their activities against him were directed by Swanson, private detective. It was Swanson who had engineered the investigation which resulted in Mooney's prosecution. It was Swanson who was active in attempts to implicate Mooney in the dynamiting of the electric towers in 1916, attempts which failed, it appears, because Billings and Weinberg refused offers of "reward" by Swanson to implicate Mooney. Shortly thereafter the preparedness-parade explosion occurs. Immediately Swanson took a leading part, now acting for the district attorney and the police, in the investigation of the crime. Within four days, under Swanson's leadership, the arrest of Mooney and the others is made.

(6) Instead of an ordinary criminal case, or even a case of extraordinary interest, there thus emerge the elements of a clash of forces of wide significance. On the one hand, a community long in the grip of bitter labor struggles is outraged by peculiarly wicked murders. Accusation is made against a group whose leader has been widely associated with views which justify violence, at least in industrial conflict. The public mind was therefore easily aroused to belief in the guilt of the accused. The attitude of passion was stimulated by all the arts of modern journalism. It is not surprising, then, that Billings and Mooney were tried in an impregnating atmosphere of guilt.

On the other hand, just as Mooney symbolized labor for all the bitter opponents of organized labor, so he came to symbolize labor, irrespective of his personal merits, in the minds of workers and of their sympathizers. "The Mooney case" soon resolved itself into a new aspect of an old industrial feud instead of a subject demanding calm search for truth.

(7) Billings was tried first, undoubtedly in the hope that the pressure of conviction would lead him to implicate Mooney. He was convicted. His conviction has been sustained. He has been sentenced to life imprisonment. He has not implicated Mooney and he protests innocence. Mooney was tried early in January, 1917, and in February, 1917, convicted of murder in the first degree. Mrs. Mooney was tried and acquitted. Weinberg was recently tried and acquitted. Nolan has never been put to trial.

(8) The convictions of Billings and Mooney followed trials in accordance with the established course of American procedure. It is familiar to students of jurisprudence that no system of criminal administration in the world hedges such safeguards around an accused as does an American trial. The conviction, in other words, was based on evidence narrowly confined to the specific issues. Furthermore, proof of guilt had to be established beyond a reasonable doubt, and established to the unanimous satisfaction of a jury of twelve persons selected from among the people. Conviction by an American jury is guilt determined by a very democratic institution. There is no question but that the jury acted in good faith upon the evidence as it was submitted. It is because of subsequent developments that doubt is based upon the justice of the convictions. Following the trials of Billings and Mooney there was a change in the evidence which not only resulted in the acquittal of Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg, but also cast doubt upon the prior convictions of Billings and Mooney.

Thus it is that the evidence submitted on the four trials taken together, aimed as it was at the establishment of a single issue, their joint participation in the crime, leaves the mind in the greatest uncertainty as to the complicity of the accused. While each record in itself presents evidence which would justify an appellate court in sustaining the verdict of a jury, the evidence of the four cases in their entirety must shake confidence in the justice of the convictions. This is due to the dubious character of the witnesses, the subsequent revelations concerning them and the conflict in the testimony of the same witnesses as the need for change in the testimony developed to fit new theories of the prosecution or new evidence by the defense. But it was not deemed the province of your Commission to establish the guilt or innocence of Mooney and his associates. We conceived it to be our duty merely to determine whether a solid basis exists for a feeling that an injustice was done, or may have been done, in the convictions that were obtained, and that an irreparable injustice would be committed to allow such conviction to proceed to execution.

(9) We find the atmosphere surrounding the prosecution and trial of the case ground for disquietude. This feeling is reinforced by one factor of controlling importance. The most damaging testimony produced against

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Mooney came from a witness named Oxman. It was Oxman who testified with convincing detail to the presence of Mooney and Billings at a place and at a time where it was essential for them to have been if proof of their participation in the crime was to be established. After Mooney's conviction there came to light letters confessedly written by Oxman prior to his having been called to testify. The plain import of these letters is an attempt by Oxman to suborn perjury in corroboration of the vital testimony which he was to give and which, in fact, he did give, against Mooney. It is true that Oxman was tried for attempted subornation of perjury and acquitted, but this is beside the present consideration. The fact is that he did write letters which tend completely to discredit any testimony he might give, and no testimony from Oxman in the light of these letters would receive credence necessary to lead to conviction. In fact, after the exposure of Oxman, the district attorney did not call him, though available, as a witness in the trial of Mrs. Mooney. When Oxman was discredited the verdict against Mooney was discredited.

(10) As soon as the Oxman letters were disclosed, the judge who presided at Mooney's trial called upon the Attorney-General of California to take steps toward a retrial of the case. We quote from Judge Griffin's letter to Attorney-General Webb:

> As you will at once see, they [the Oxman letters] bear directly upon the credibility of the witness and go to the very foundation of the truth of the story told by Oxman on the witness stand. Had they been before me at the time of the hearing of the motion for new trial, I would unhesitatingly have granted it. Unfortunately the matter is now out of my hands jurisdictionally, and I am, therefore, addressing you, as the representative of the people on the appeal, to urge upon you the necessity of such action on your part as will result in returning the case to this court for retrial. The letters of Oxman undoubtedly require explanation, and, so far as Mooney is concerned, unquestionably the explanation should be heard by a jury which passed upon the question of his guilt or innocence. I fully appreciate the unusual character of such a request coming from the trial court in any case, and I know of no precedent therefor. In the circumstances of this case, I believe that all of us who were participants in the trial concur that right and justice demand that a new trial of Mooney should be had in order that no possible mistake shall be made in a case where a human life is at stake.

The Attorney-General asked the supreme court that, in view of the Oxman exposure, the case should be returned to the trial court for a new trial. The supreme court, however, under the laws of California, found itself without jurisdiction to consider matters outside the record. The case is now before that court on appeal, to be disposed of solely on errors appearing from the record of the trial. If the supreme court should find error, reverse and grant a new trial, the relief the situation needs would be provided. If the supreme court finds that the record discloses no reversible error, and therefore confirms the conviction, the relief will have to be supplied through the executive action of the Governor of California and the coöperation of the prosecuting officers.

(11) Such relief it is hoped will be forthcoming. It is now well known that the attention to the situation in the East was first aroused through meetings of protest against the Mooney conviction in Russia. From Russia and the Western states protest spread to the entire country until it has gathered momentum from many sources, sources whose opposition to violence is unquestioned, whose devotion to our cause in the War is unstinted. The liberal sentiment of Russia was aroused, the liberal sentiment of the United States was aroused, because the circumstances of Mooney's prosecution, in the light of his history, led to the belief that the terrible and sacred instruments of criminal justice were consciously or unconsciously made use of against labor by its enemies in an industrial conflict.

(12) However strange or however unexpected it may be, the just disposition of the Mooney case thus affects influences far beyond the confines of California, and California can be depended upon to see the wider implications of the case. With the mere local aspects, with the political and journalistic conflicts which the case has occasioned, neither the Commission nor the country at large is concerned. But the feeling of disquietude aroused by the case must be heeded, for, if unchecked, it impairs the faith that our democracy protects the lowliest and even the unworthy against false accusations. War is fought with moral as well as material resources. We are in this war to vindicate the moral claims of unstained processes of law, however slow at times such processes may be. These claims must be tempered by the fire of our own devotion to them at home.

(13) Your Commission therefore respectfully recommends in case the Supreme Court of California should find it necessary (confined as it is by jurisdictional limitations) to sustain the conviction of Mooney on the record of the trial, that the President use his good offices to invoke action by the Governor of California and the coöperation of its prosecuting officers to the end that a new trial may be held for Mooney whereby guilt or innocence may be put to the test of unquestionable justice. This result can easily be accomplished by postponing the execution of the sentence of Mooney to await the outcome of a new trial, based upon prosecution under one of the untried indictments against him.

Respectfully submitted,

W. B. Wilson, Chairman; J. L. Spangler, E. P. Marsh, Verner Z. Reed, John H. Walker, Felix Frankfurter, Secretary and Counsel; Max Lowenthal, Assistant Secretary.

Fawn

Delicately and sharply the doe leaps
Breaking in silence the brush and the low boughs;
But the fawn's way is lighter than leaping,
It goes as the wind goes.

The doe runs and the tall grass bends
Under a weight of swiftness; but the fawn,
Not flicking the ground even with a hoof's tip,
Follows her as a leaf fallen and blown.

Marie de L. Welch.

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CORRESPONDENCE

For Southern Political Prisoners

SIR: August 22 was the anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. In California, Billings and Mooney are still in jail; the Centralia victims are still in jail; the men who fought for "American" conditions for American workers in North Carolina textile mills are under long-term sentences. The striking cantaloupe pickers at El Centro, California, have been sentenced to barbarously long jail terms.

The moneyed reaction that is fast obliterating all trace of free institutions in America is now trying to execute six young people in Georgia under old insurrection laws passed during the Civil War.

Last March, Joseph Carr, a boy of nineteen, and M. H. Powers, a young married man of twenty-five with two children, were arrested in Atlanta when they attempted to hold a meeting to which blacks and whites were invited under the auspices of the Communist party to discuss the unemployment situation. After they had been released, rearrested, and held some time, the State Solicitor's office decided to hold them under a war measure passed in 1861 against agitation for a slave insurrection and, oddly enough, later amended by the carpetbagger administration for use against the ex-slaveholders and themselves. In May, at another meeting in Atlanta, Ann Burlak, twenty, the representative of the International Labor Defense, Mary Dalton, eighteen, of the National Textile Union, and two young Negroes, one from Atlanta (Henry Storey) and one from New York (Herbert Newton), were arrested and held on the same charges. In neither case was there any disorder on the part of the Communists, nor did the police give them a chance to make seditious utterances even if they had intended to.

It has been officially announced by the State Solicitor's office in Atlanta that the death penalty will be demanded in every case of Communist agitation, to prove that the Georgia laws against social dissenters and working-class organizers "have teeth in them."

What can I do about it? That sort of thing happens every day.

Is there any man or woman with any money to spare left in the country who can still feel horror at the thought of these young people being put to death or (what it is more likely to amount to) sentenced to long jail terms for a crime of opinion? If there is, now is certainly the time to give it. In this free country it is only by spending a great deal of money that the defense has a ghost of a show in a political case. The funds of the International Labor Defense, which is fighting these cases, have been terribly depleted by the number of political prosecutions it has had to fight this year. Any amount, however small, is worth sending. Please send checks or money orders to the Emergency Committee for Southern Political Prisoners, Room 430, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City.

Provincetown, Mass. JOHN DOS PASSOS.

German Army Costs

SIR: Permit me to offer the following in answer to an editorial which appeared in The New Republic of May 28. It was stated there that the German army costs "have been creeping up to surprising totals, pointing either to the most monumental waste and inefficiency ever heard of, or to secret violations of the Treaty."

As far as the army is concerned, one cannot speak of surprisingly high costs. The expenses for defense are laid before the Reichstag every year. That body, especially the Social Democrats, who, in their opposition to national defense, would like to see army and navy done away with altogether, or at least greatly reduced in numbers, examines every item most painfully and sees to it that everything is husbanded to the minimal cost. In fact, the German army expenses amount to 4 percent of the entire budget, while in France the figure is 27 percent and in Poland 30 percent. The per capita cost for the army is 11 marks in Germany, 57.7 marks in France. Of the army expenses in Germany, 45 percent go to the soldiers and 55 percent for material. The reason the former expense is so high lies in the fact that by the Treaty of Versailles a professional army with twelve years of military service has been forced upon the German people. In such an army the expenses for the individual soldier are, of course, higher than, for instance, in France and Poland or other countries with compulsory military service. Nevertheless, the long serving German soldier is still considerably less of an expense than, for example, the English Tommy. The expense for the individual German soldier, at an average, annually amounts to 4,390 marks, for the English soldier, to nearly 6,000 marks.

The fact that Germany, according to the Treaty of Versailles, had to destroy its former industry of making arms, accounts for the relative high cost of arms and ammunition. Before the War Germany owned large factories making arms at a minimal cost. Now all these factories, and private ones like Krupp-Essen, are not allowed to work for the army. The machinery serving such purpose had to be destroyed and the International Commission selected a few factories that had never before supplied the army, and had to purchase all machines necessary to supply the army with material. These factories hold the monopoly and are without competition. Therefore prices for all material are considerably higher than before the War, sometimes three times as high.

That the cost of machine guns in the new army is so much higher than in the considerably greater pre-war army is easily explained by the fact that before the War each German infantry regiment had only one machine-gun company with six heavy machine guns. Now it has three machine-gun companies, each with twelve machine guns. Besides, each company has six light machine guns as organized during the Great War. Consequently, the regiment of infantry, in keeping with the Treaty of Versailles, has ninety machine guns, i. e., fifteen times more than before the War, and these, for reasons mentioned above, are three times as expensive. The cost of ammunition has also increased in proportion.

Dresden, Germany. BARON VON NETTELBLADT.

From a Perplexed Executor

SIR: J. Eads How, a scion of the famous Eads family of St. Louis, died a few weeks ago. He was known as the "millionaire hobo," and I made his will here a short time ago. In it, he names me as his executor and trustee, and asks that I use his fortune "to produce justice and a classless society throughout the world."

To me, this seems a big job and a large order, and I wonder if any of your highbrow readers can tell me just how I am to usher in justice and introduce a classless society.

Cincinnati, Ohio. NICHOLAS KLEIN.

Ernest Reichmann: An Appreciation

SIR: Ernest Reichmann's death in Chicago on July 9 means a tremendous loss to a wide circle of friends and to all liberal causes.

To many will come a memory of the young idealist who after America's entrance into the War identified himself with the group opposed to military service, and with them ran the gauntlet of that persecution which the Department of Justice so stupidly and clumsily applied to conscientious objectors.

I cherish particularly a recollection of him as he appeared on the stage of the Auditorium Theater in June, 1917, at a mass meeting presided over by Robert Morss Lovett, idol of the young radicals of the Middle West. Darkly handsome, distinguished, "with the light of the world shining in his eyes," as one friend described him, he upheld the loyalty of those who stayed behind against the aims of those who went forth to fight, and he dedicated his mind and his young energies to the task of forcing our government to stand by its professions and promises concerning democracy and an end to war.

I saw him last at a reunion of old friends held in a Winnetka

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home one Sunday night in the late winter. He arrived early with his wife and two charming and beautiful daughters, "for a good visit," he said, "before the others come."

He was as handsome and distinguished as of yore, but grown a little stout, and the old fire in his eyes had softened into a milder glow. I was immediately conscious of his prosperity and domestic happiness.

In the course of our talk he told me of his legal interests and the injustices he was trying to combat. "I want you to know," he said, "that I am still an idealist, though I have changed my method and my point of attack." Then he added somewhat wistfully, "I think you would still approve of me."

"I still love you, anyway," I replied. And that was the last intimate word I ever had with him.

To his bright spirit on its outward way I send an older comrade's "Hail and Farewell!"

New York City. HARRIET PARK THOMAS.

Openings in the Department of Labor

SIR: May I call the attention of your readers to the coming civil service examinations for three New York State Department of Labor positions, which should be particularly interesting to persons with some training in sociology, economics, labor legislation, industrial hygiene, and the like? The positions are listed as follows: Group A, Factory Inspector; Group B, Mercantile Inspector; Group C, Homework Inspector.

The following are the general conditions and requirements, as stated in the Civil Service announcement: "Entrance salary, $1,680 per annum, with automatic increases to a maximum of $3,000 per annum. The examination will not be based on knowledge of the provisions of the labor law, but will be of a character to test the aptitude and capacity of candidates for the work to be done, and knowledge of methods of present-day industry. All candidates must be of good appearance and character, in sound physical condition and of good personality."

In addition to the above general requirements, special requirements for each group will be furnished on application to the Department of Civil Service, State Capitol, Albany, N. Y. The examinations probably will be held the latter part of September, the exact date to be announced by the Department of Civil Service.

FRANCES PERKINS,
Albany, N. Y. Industrial Commissioner.

Broadcasting Culture

SIR: After reading the editorial in the August 13 issue of The New Republic, entitled "The Radio and Education," I feel that in fairness to those who are endeavoring to coöperate with the educators in establishing this method of supplementary education, as well as in the interest of your readers, a brief summary of the educational work now being undertaken by the Columbia Broadcasting System will give a more comprehensive and up-to-date picture of education by radio.

From February 4 to May 15 last year the Columbia Broadcasting System in conjunction with the Grigsby-Grunow Company of Chicago sponsored the series of educational programs known as the American School of the Air, which were broadcast twice a week during this period. The schedule of programs included history dramatizations, literature, civics, music, art, health and nature study. The broadcasts were carried by more than fifty stations of Columbia's network and were received weekly by 20,000 schools with an estimated student audience of nearly 6,000,000 pupils. Requests were received from Canada and Mexico to carry these programs.

At the culmination of the series the Bureau of Education in Washington sent out three questionnaires, one to state superintendents, one to school principals and one to teachers, in an effort to obtain an authentic evaluation of these programs. From a poll taken among the state superintendents of education not one adverse reply was received, and 98 percent of those communicated with requested the continuation of this series for the coming year.

Such is the picture of the experimental series of the American School of the Air. Evidence of the success with which this initial series met, and the enthusiasm with which it was received by the teaching staff of the country, pupils and parents, is the greatly enlarged program which will go into effect this coming school year. All members of the advisory faculty and advisory committee have expressed their willingness to serve again. The educational staff of the Columbia Broadcasting System has been greatly enlarged in order to handle this new educational series of the American School of the Air.

This single series of educational programs represents the largest unit of station time on the air in the nation. It means the production of 3,250 station-hours, devoted solely to education, going direct to the classrooms of the country, produced at a cost to the co-sponsors of the series of well over a half million dollars expended during a period of eight months.

While this outline represents in the briefest form the present operations of one broadcasting system in its relation to one series of correlated programs, space alone precludes a detailed summary of other splendid efforts being undertaken. May I hope that at some time in the future you will open your columns to a more detailed analysis and a more comprehensive picture of the growing cooperation between the educators and the broadcasting stations.

New York City. FREDERIC WILLIS.

National Investors Corporation

SIR: In the series of articles dealing with investment trusts which appeared during April in The New Republic, I made one or two statements of fact which, it seems to me, in the interest of fairness need to be qualified.

In the third article I included National Investors Corporation in a group of investment trusts whose investments had shrunk in market value below their purchase prices. To this I added the following statement:

> The losses, in some cases, are worse than they appear from a mere statement of the figures. For instance, the National Investors Corporation had a loss in the value of its investments of $3,240,000. This means that its total investments shrank from $4,740,000 (their cost) to $1,500,000.

Now it is a fact that the investments of this trust did shrink below their cost. Furthermore, the figures as I state them are precisely in accordance with the report of the Standard Statistics Company, a service whose figures are accepted in every financial office in the country. However, in fairness, the mere statement of these figures leaves out two facts which have an important bearing on their significance.

First of all, the National Investors Corporation, while technically an investment trust, has not distributed its stocks to the public at large. The trust was organized and its securities are held by a large group of banks and trust companies who are quite well able to take care of themselves. The trust was formed to serve the interests of the banking and financial houses and not as a medium of investment for the public.

Secondly, the investments of the trust consisted in certain standard securities and in a $3,000,000 purchase of stock purchase warrants of the Second National Investors, an investment trust organized by the National Investors. To know what the portfolio of the National Investors was worth on December 31, one would have to know the liquidating value of these warrants. As a matter of fact these warrants had perhaps almost no liquidating value at that date. But it is perhaps true to say that they also had little if any liquidating value before the stock-market crash. Their value lay almost wholly in the success of the management by National Investors of Second National Investors. The whole commitment was the kind of investment a closely held financial operative company might well make, and the wisdom of the venture would have to be gauged by principles wholly different from those applied to the appraisal of ordinary security values.

I feel, therefore, that the impression conveyed by the statement in my third article was on the whole somewhat less than fair without the addition of these qualifying facts.

New York City. JOHN T. FLYNN.

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Intelligence as a Good

The Quest for Certainty, by John Dewey. New York: Minton, Balch and Company. 318 pages. $3.

PHILOSOPHERS, after long telling us what the universe is and commiserating with the blunt majority of mankind too brutelike for such refined insight, next began to question their own possibilities of knowledge. The focus shifted from "What is the universe?" to "How can we know what the universe is?" Each new discovery of science put such knowledge farther from us. The world's most thoroughgoing body of information threatened to block out that cosmological vision which seemed sharpest when the data was sparest—until now, in pragmatism, a third stage is reached. The pragamtist says simply: "The universe is." And, the universe being, it does—so the pragmatist will situate his knowledge, not in *what* the universe is, but in *how* it works. He will seek to understand operations, to find in what order things generally precede and follow one another. He will also consider himself as involved in the process, will recognize that one discovers "reality" in accordance with his terminology, that a shift in the vocabulary of approach will entail new classifications for the same events. He will renounce what Professor Dewey aptly calls the "spectator theory of knowledge," the notion that the universe is something like an insect under glass in a museum, and that to know it we must merely go and look at it. Knowledge he will see as arising from an interaction between an organism and its environment. Knowledge is not knowledge of what things are, but a knowledge of when and how they happen.

In the present volume, Professor Dewey has traced this course of thought with great clarity and critical keenness. He has pictured mankind, in its quest for certainty, turning to some rigid metaphysical or theological structure as compensation for the contingencies of actual life. Man fortified himself against the irregularities of life by imagining the perfect regularity of heaven. The consistency, justice, dependability which he could not feel assured of in his intercourse with nature, he relegated to some supernatural realm of "antecedent Being," where it lies intact, an absolute good, truth and beauty. These absolutes are "reality," and they are but obscured by "appearances." The dialectic juggling of these concepts, the vast intellectual legerdemain by which "reality" is first obscured by "appearances" and then traced back through "appearances" to "reality," the strenuous effort required to show how a thing both is and is not, has given rise to the grandiose structure of metaphysics, an imposing monument, but one regrettably rotten at the base and kept standing only by hasty replacements which soon crumbled in turn.

I fear that metaphysics, gentlemen, is a living lie. What does the metaphysician do? He begins, like any artist, with himself and his corresponding set of values. Then he figures out that the world *ought to be* such and such if these values are to be imbued with universal validity. So much has been done under cover. He next comes forward with the assertion that not until now is his process of investigation to begin. Under our very eyes he examines the nature of the universe; he finds the universe to be such and such; and then he says triumphantly, since we have found the universe to be such and such, it follows irrefutably that these values which I am about to sell you have universal validity. Having thought from Z to A, he poses as thinking from A to Z.

Now, Professor Dewey situates the fallacy of the metaphysician's A in the doctrine of "antecedent Being," the notion that there is a fixed reality to be known as it really is, that there is an equation between the thing to be known and the thing as we know it. He holds that we do not perceive in this sense, but translate. An object is perceived as a food is taken into the stomach; it is acted upon in accordance with the capacities and requirements of the equipment receiving it. Further, what would be the gain in knowing what reality *is?* Our whole interest would reside in how to *use* such knowledge—and the progress of science and invention is evidence that we have already gone far in the *use* of reality, while metaphysicians still lag behind, wrangling over their first principles. While they were asking whether or not we could possibly know, the pragmatism of science was steadily increasing its knowledge. And if science, in the newest paradoxes of physics, now reaches what it considers an impasse, so that the old cry of "Can we know?" begins to arise in these new quarters, this is only because science has become metaphysically speculative, and had begun attempting with its instruments to discover what the universe is instead of how it works. But whatever the cosmological difficulties of science, it continues to amass pragmatic certainties. It can, for instance, *use* electrons without even being sure that they exist.

"The Quest for Certainty" is an ideology of science. Professor Dewey, looking over the history of the progress of physical science, discovers that its knowledge has been the knowledge of processes. He sees that, while man tended to retreat from the world of contingencies, compensatorily building a structure of immutable absolutes in the mind, and thus combating the uncertainty of life by getting at least the *feel* of certitude (whistling to keep up his courage), science went ahead with its study of processes and succeeded in greatly increasing the actual certitude of living. One does not depend upon a chance stroke of lightning for his fire, upon the chance dropping of a seed for his crops. Non-metaphysical certainty, pragmatic knowledge, knowledge of the processes by which fires are lighted and seeds grow, has increased the certainty of living. Scientific knowledge is of this sort. The theological or metaphysical system gets certainty by affirming dogmatically how things *are,* how they *must be;* it erects a set of vested interests, which cannot be questioned without imperiling its precious certainty; it cancels by decree the actual fluctuations in human livelihood. So here, in the doctrines of antecedent Being, were certainties which left the world uncertain. Whereas pragmatic knowledge is erected out of doubt, questioning, experimentation. It has no vested interests; to have one of its beliefs undermined is a gain, an aid in the better understanding of processes. It defines as truth *what works.* Possessing no certainties in itself, it has undeniably increased the certainties of living.

Having got so far, Professor Dewey would now argue by analogy. Since the scientific (pragmatic, experimental, instrumental) method has produced such good results despite the many cases of misuse for private ends, he would have us apply this same method to the criticism of values. Values, too, should be grounded, not upon the authority of antecedent Being, but in accordance with their workings. We should not necessarily turn against traditional values because they have been derived from the past. Their survival may in many cases be some proof of their adequacy. But they can be tinkered with, improved like any other process, and these improvements are made by looking to

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their possibilities. Values, in other words, are to be tested by experiment, experiment either in actuality or in thought (since thought is a kind of deferred, or symbolic, action). The past of a value is used as the past of a laboratory experiment—it is neither glorified nor condemned, but interpreted in accordance with the problem at hand.

Approached in this way, the argument for an analogous application of experiment to the study of values (the ultimate aim of all philosophy) seems quite cogent. But should we situate the success of science in its perfection of measurement, it is harder to see that the application of its method to a criticism of values is analogous. Science owes much to experimentation, to pragmatic knowing, but this method has been reinforced by an instrument equally important—mathematics, the instrument of quantification, of measurement. This instrument enables us to test an operation by means which minimize the opportunities for differences of opinion. When people can look at the scales and agree that they say twenty, or look at the thermometer and agree that it says forty, the experiment is proved. It is not always quite so simple as that; the process of proof itself is often brought into question. But in contrast with an argument about the workings of a value, it is exactly as simple as that.

How do we test the success of a value? Values undeniably work—but they don't necessarily succeed or fail. We have monogamy, bigamy, polyandry, polygyny and a dozen other systems of marriage. They have all *worked,* since people seem to have lived and sung under each of them. Taboo against murder works, since societies flourish where this taboo is prevalent; a systematic killing of aging parents also works. The latter custom is more necessary where food is scarce and existence is hard; perhaps to that extent it is even a pragmatic value. Values are all somewhat pragmatic, since they have arisen to serve human needs, though they undeniably may become a menace when they survive the situation for which they were invented, and the knowledge of the processes by which they arose can do much to break the force of their authority in the minds of those who still hold them. The understanding of processes can clearly contribute greatly to the elimination of such outgrown values.

But the matter is different with the erection of new values by the experimental method. The experimental method would derive its values, not by authority, not by any theory of antecedent absolute good, but by test. It seems, however, that when carried to its logical conclusion, this method of evaluating values presents difficulties of its own. When judging the effectiveness of a value, for instance, we have to utilize some other value to appraise it. Though we may know the processes whereby people are made fat, lean or middling, we still have to decide whether we *ought* to make them fat, lean or middling; for there is no judgment inherent in a process. Suppose that we decide to make them lean in order that they may run faster. Then we have founded our value of leanness upon the value of speed in running, which must in turn be founded upon another value, and so on. Where then is our "key value"? By the experimental method there could obviously be no key value, in the sense of its antecedent existence, its acceptance on authority. Even a key value must be dependent upon experiment for its justification, and its worth could be tested only by the adoption of some other value by which to test it. Eddington has already discussed this circular chase in the definitions of physics, each phenomenon being defined in terms of another until you get back to the first. Thus, it should not be surprising if we found the same situation in the evaluating of values when values are treated by an analogous method.

It is interesting to see how Professor Dewey handles this difficult matter. He must necessarily avoid a key value, yet must have evaluations. How does he satisfy both needs? By his writings on the nature of intelligence, in which he praises the function of intelligence, tact, taste in the formation of our judgments. For intelligence is not a value; it is a process, a functioning. Still, it is more than a process; it is a good process. Intelligence, if I correctly interpret Professor Dewey's chapter, both *is* and *is good* (or, more accurately, both *becomes* and *becomes good*). It thus serves as substitute for the key value. For if intelligence is good, it will naturally choose good values. So, being a value in itself, it does the work of a key value in grounding out a criticism, for all other values can issue from it.

I am not competent to judge whether this is a wholly justifiable step, though I do feel that it is the crux, or fulcrum, of Professor Dewey's philosophy. If Intelligence is good by definition, we need not be surprised that a system of good can be drawn from it. In the older systems there was something which, by definition both *is* and *is good,* and with so much given all the rest could be deduced, down to the divine authorization of imprisonment for failure to salute the sheriff.

Further, if the arbiter of success is Intelligence, evaluating out of itself, creating the values by which it measures its own success, is this not an intrusion upon the relativistic thinking of pragmatism? Would it not be much like "pure" Intelligence, an absolute? We have done away with the unmoved mover; but do we have in its stead the self-judging judger, the self-measuring measure, a good so good that it perceives its own goodness? Do we face a choice between the circular chase from value to value, and the treatment of Intelligence as an absolute evaluator?

Also, the goodness of the Intelligence, so far as the pragmatic evidence goes, seems much more like goodness in a technical sense, like the goodness of one's liver. Its goodness as an *ethical* good, a good for society in general, is less apparent. For though the functioning of a liver be accounted a good, the functioning of mine enemy's liver is not good for myself. The evidence shows more clearly its goodness from the standpoint of the organism than goodness for all.

The reader may or may not agree with these tentative objections, which seem to me the difficulties arising if we carry experimentalism to its farthest implications and seek to find in it a mechanism for the erection of values without relying upon the existence of a prior good. In any event, my zeal to discover the bare bones of Professor Dewey's logic has led me into a major act of unfairness. For I have failed to convey any notion of the sensitivity, learning and vitality contained in "The Quest for Certainty." Its incidental sidelights on the history of philosophy constitute, to my mind, a constant succession of scores. The total lack of authoritarianism in his thinking is forever leading Professor Dewey into the expansive and adventurous. The book is tolerant and inquisitive. Its extension of strict dialectic by borrowings from psychology, anthropology, history, sociology, economics fits it into a wider scheme than mere matters of dogma and makes it an important contribution to our culture. We see that pragmatism in such hands can disclose its social value without going so far into the subject of the rock that supports the rock that supports the world. And Professor Dewey's good is certainly no tax upon our good will. It is not hard

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for us to accept that the Intelligence both is and is good, for we act upon this assumption daily, and it brings results. These results are tested by values which just are, regardless of how they came about, or how many no longer fit, or how many should be remedied, or how many would be incapable of empirical proof. Whether or not the scientific attitude could provide the grounding for a world of values, once values are given, it can certainly contribute to their better guidance. And it can always play one value against another, relying upon a kind of relative antecedent Being, since it can take values which are generally accepted as good and use them to argue for values not yet so accepted. If the world prizes justice or happiness, for example, we need not seek the justification for these values; but we can use them to prove that some practice is reprehensible because unjust, or because it leads to misery.

In this respect the pragmatist is strongest when he is more like the artist than like the metaphysician. It is not gratuitous that Professor Dewey has written so brilliantly of art, both in this present volume and in his "Experience and Nature." The artist says, in substance: "I make this exhortation in the terms of what has already been accepted. Once these terms are accepted, I can go a little beyond them. But I shall argue only for my addition, and assume the rest. If people believe *eight,* I can recommend *nine;* I can do so by the manipulation of their *eightish* assumptions; I need not justify my *nine* by arguing for *one.*"

KENNETH BURKE.

The Academic Fascist

The Autocracy of Mr. Parham, by H. G. Wells. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.

THIS IS an amusing and well aimed satire on a certain type of reactionary opinion which has lately been becoming fashionable. Wells has invented in Mr. Parham an all too lifelike comic character whom we recognize at once as the embodiment of something in the air: certain attitudes and ideas which the universities, English and American, the intellectuals of Bloomsbury, Antibes and the literary and artistic penthouses of New York, T. S. Eliot's Criterion and the American Humanists have been running to since the War. Mr. Parham is a young Oxford don who believes that the only salvation for society lies in a return to tradition and order. He is a man of learning and taste, and a parasite, a prig and a snob.

> He had produced several studies—mainly round and about Richelieu and going more deeply into the mind of Richelieu than anyone has ever done before—and given short special courses upon historical themes; he had written a small volume of essays . . . and he would sometimes write reviews upon works of scholarly distinction, reviews that appeared (often shockingly cut and mutilated) in The Empire, the Weekly Philosopher and The Georgian Review. No one could deal with a new idea struggling to take form and wave it out of existence again more neatly and smilingly than Mr. Parham. And loving history as he did, it was a trouble to his mind to feel how completely out of tune was the confusion of current events with anything that one could properly call fine history or fine philosophy. The Great War he realized was History, though very lumpish, brutalized and unmanageable. . . . But from about 1919 onward everything had gone from bad to worse. Persons, events, had been deprived of more and more significance. Discordance, a disarray of values, invaded the flow of occurrence. . . . In the face of such things as happen today this trained historian felt like a skilled carver who was asked to cut up soup. Where were the bones?—any bones?

Mr. Parham falls in with Sir Bussy Woodcock, a millionaire of "lowly extraction," the son of a cab driver and a trained muse, who, "while Mr. Parham had been occupied chiefly with imperishable things—and marking examination papers upon them—had become the master of a vast quantity of transitory but tangible phenomena which included a great advertising organization, an important part of the retail provision trade, a group of hotels, plantations in the tropics, cinema theaters, and many other things felt rather than known by Mr. Parham." Mr. Parham keeps hoping that Sir Bussy, who is curious about what is going on in the world and makes a point of cultivating all sorts of people and trying to find out what they are doing, and what their ideas are, will set him up to a weekly magazine dedicated to tradition and order. But at a spiritualistic seance both Sir Bussy and Mr. Parham fall asleep and dream the same dream—a nightmare of what would happen to the world if Mr. Parham were to become the Mussolini of an English academic Fascism. As a result of this appalling revelation, Sir Bussy decides to run his own paper.

I will not say that the encroachments of age have not dulled Wells's imagination in this book. The vision of the future with which more than half of it is occupied has little of the brilliance of Wells's early feats in this line: it is all a little like a long editorial. But what journalist, young or old, can write such editorials as Wells? And who else—even Aldous Huxley—feels so sensitively and so promptly the currents in the intellectual air, and guesses so accurately what they imply, in terms of money, social relations, politics and sex, in the human society from which they emanate? The first chapters of this book, before the dream begins, are as vivid, as funny and as shrewd as any satire Wells has ever written. One can only hope that his prophecies in the last part are not so true as they have sometimes been.

EDMUND WILSON.

Lambs to the Slaughter

As I Saw It, by Alden Brooks. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 299 pages. $3.

A Brass Hat in No Man's Land, by Brigadier General F. P. Crozier. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 254 pages. $2.50.

BOOKS on the War have been so plentiful of late, and we have been through so much vicarious emotion, that only a very special sort of battle chronicle can fail to drop into a dead spot in the mind. Reading Barbusse in 1930 is much like going back to "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," so melodramatic does he seem; and a succession of books launched with the tag "another 'All Quiet,'" has mainly served to vitiate what grateful memories one has of Remarque. The appeal to sympathies having been oversold, the most effective sort of book that can be written today is the cold-blooded, candid type—the type of Robert Graves's "Goodbye to All That." Luckily for themselves in a falling market for War books, both Alden Brooks and Brigadier General F. P. Crozier have written just that kind of narrative. They have written as one would write of the loves of the beetles, the appeal being wholly to the curiosity. This is not to imply that they lack passion;

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each of them has strong feelings, but the feelings direct the attention rather than flow out over the page.

The British General Crozier has broken with military precedent in his narrative. A veteran of Britain's "little wars," and a "brass hat" who held sternly to the line of duty in the Great War, he might have been expected to die with his tongue tied. But the man who had acquiesced to the race for armaments, the man who never hesitated to pronounce the death sentence upon a coward in Picardy, suddenly saw the Quaker light. He fashioned for himself a Hall of Platitudes, embalming therein the old slogans, "To ensure peace, prepare for war," and "Human nature never changes." The Good Government Club and the Society for the Apotheosis of A. Mitchell Palmer may now read Crozier out of the party.

"A Brass Hat" is rather jumbled, but its amateurish smack is engaging. A professional's pen might have winced at so many paragraphs devoted to the relationship between Big Drums and Prostitutes, Mars and venereal disease. Anything that was a war measure went with Crozier during the conflict, and he is quite clear-headed now in admitting to shooting German prisoners and in talking of the necessity for propaganda and the popular press in running a modern Armageddon. To him it is not the "Cavell atrocity," but the "official murder of Nurse Cavell." He tells of whipping up the blood lust in his troops, and speaks unequivocally of his wartime "pose." The obvious moral of his book is "Abolish war; but if you can't do that, don't delude yourself by thinking that war can be played according to rule."

"As I Saw It" is undertaken from a different angle. Crozier spent much of his time in the front line, while Brooks, as an American attached to the French artillery during 1918, saw most of the fighting from the rear. He was, however, well placed to coördinate information about the progress of the last year of the War, and he was far from having a soft billet in a safe retreat. Shells, he reminds us, may fly in two directions; and there is always the possibility of a gun's exploding. He thinks the Battle of Belleau Wood a wasted gesture, meaningless from a tactical standpoint; and his pages explaining his belief might be read by those who have taken the more popular line in regard to that episode of American participation. No doubt his account of the Second Battle of the Marne and the great German retreat that ended with the Armistice will be of absorbing interest to those Americans who were more or less on the spot at the time.

To one who was under military age in 1917-18, however, "As I Saw It," along with "A Brass Hat," must appeal as a springboard for thought about the future of war in a corporate world. Both these books confirm a suspicion that one might as well be pacifist to the last ditch. For, if Stuart Chase is right (and if he isn't correct at present, the chemists and armament designers will soon catch up with his predictions), it won't make the slightest difference to one's native land whether one is a conscientious objector or a howling patriot. Everyone will lose in the next war, and a few trappers from the North Woods, a dozen lamas from Tibet, the dying Polynesians and the pygmies of Central Africa will be left to pick up from where we leave off. Roosevelt's "futile" little pacifists will, in the long run, be no more impotent than the "practical" men, ranging from the Sir Edward Greys to the Count Berchtolds. If this be treason, one might as well be hanged for it as butchered for the opposite point of view.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Three Novelists

Three Masters: Balzac, Dickens, Dostoievsky, by Stefan Zweig. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: The Viking Press. 238 pages. $3.50.

STEFAN ZWEIG is a novelist and a critic who has won distinction in both arts or professions, but the high estimate put upon him in Germany seems to look to the critic rather more than to the novelist. With the exception of Thomas Mann, who is probably the greatest of living German novelists, most of the striking figures of modern German literature seem to be Jews, and these German Jews are a very interesting complex. Zweig is brilliant, but he is also thorough; he glitters, but he is not superficial. These essays—especially the Dostoievsky—are long, and yet condensed, exhaustive, interpretative and significant. None of his three masters is German, because, he says, there have been no great German novelists of this class.

Zweig satisfies my own feeling about Balzac and Dostoievsky pretty completely. With regard to Dickens I should take some exception. For instance, "Little Nell" seems to him a thing of beauty, while to most of us it is now an abomination, a watery desolation, rivaled only by little Paul Dombey in its oozy tearfulness. He complains that "English hypocrisy blinked the life of carnal desires," and forced Dickens with the other Victorians to do the same. That may be very wrong, very lamentable; but it is a negative, and such "linked sweetness long drawn out" as the death of Little Nell is positive.

The greatness of Balzac is not in any one novel, but in the whole terrific phenomenon of the man. In creative force Dickens is not far behind, if at all, and the gods besides gave him laughter. But "The Brothers Karamazov" is a novel that goes deep and high. It makes Balzac seem mechanical and Dickens superficial. It has vision and significance beyond the reach of either.

ARTHUR COLTON.

The Russian Soil

Tale of a Vanished Land, by Harry E. Burroughs. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 336 pages. $3.50.

"THE VILLAGE AS IT IS," written by the present Soviet Commissioner of Agriculture, Yakolev, was hailed as a vivid, first-hand, authentic account of peasant life. This book by Mr. Burroughs—which might well bear the title, "The Village as It Was," is distinguished by the same qualities. Better than any other single book I know, excepting the very old and voluminous works of Stepniak and Le Beaulieu, it gives a fair and rounded picture of life in the village—more fair, even, than that given by the great Russian writers themselves. For in striving for realism, Gorky is prone to stress the organic sides, fighting and drunkenness. Tolstoy, despite his adjuration to the intelligentsia to sit at the peasant's feet and learn his wisdom, dwells upon his sorrows and misery. And even in Eisenstein's film, "The Old and the New," the *mujiks* appear a bit too simple, uncouth and ignorant. Small wonder that the average person should come to think of the peasant as a shambling creature of the soil, and of all the 300,000 villages of Russia as sunk in darkness and superstition.

This book is a healthful corrective to such distorted conceptions. Not that it idealizes the village or in any way glosses over its evils. They are all here: the chimneyless

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smoke-filled huts of the poorest peasants; the primitive plows scratching the soil with a sharp stone tied to a stick; the women in the throes of childbirth in the fields; the village drunkard roused from stupor by sand poured into his mouth, only to drink himself again into stupefaction; the sadistic brutality of the *Rotnik,* beating his helpless victim into a pulp; the cruel vengeance of the peasants who drag a thief around the fields tied to a cart; the dread of army service which impels the recruits to disqualify themselves by starvation or by jumping from a roof in order to rupture themselves; and the spells of the wizard to bring rain to the earth and fertility to women and cattle.

All these sad and sordid aspects of village life are depicted in this book. But side by side with them the author shows the happy redeeming things—"scenes more radiant and sounds more stirring than in the civilized communities through which I have passed": laughter of the girls at the game of hunting the ikon in the snow; night-gleaming lanterns of the fishermen by the ice holes in the river; the flash of green, red and orange garments rinsed along the bank; the lazy slapping of the dripping waterwheels; the wedding cavalcade riding under the trees with ribbons, bells and cracking whips; the fiddlers' music, so infectious that it sets everybody—children, beggars and even the peg leg and the old rheumatic *baba*—dancing in the courtyard until they drop exhausted.

"How is it that the centuries of slavery passed over the Russian peasant without engrafting in him the veins and vices of slavery?" asks the old *Narodnik* Gleb-Oospensky. His answer is that never was he separated from the absorbing interests and rhythm of labor on the land. His feet were planted in Mother Earth, and out of her he drew consolation and strength and healing. *Vlast Zemlyi,* he calls it—"the power of the soil."

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS.

Worth No More

I Lived This Story, by Betty White. West of Fifth, by Catherine Brody. That Other Love, by Geoffrey Moss. April Fools, by Compton Mackenzie. All published in New York by Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1 each.

The Immediate Family, by Nalbro Bartley. Murder in Paris, by Alice Campbell. Romance Prescribed, by Eric Hatch. The Gay Procession, by Norma Patterson. All published in New York by Farrar and Rinehart. $1 each.

THE IDEA in grouping these eight one-dollar novels together was to use them as a point of departure for a serious little essay entitled "The Trend of the Dollar Novel, or Whither America?" Unfortunately for this idea, one cannot discover, after reading these books, any particular trend. Five of them treat primarily of love, but the love portrayed doesn't differ particularly from the kind you get in most two-fifty novels, and, therefore, isn't of much significance as far as our essay is concerned. Of the other three, "April Fools," by Compton Mackenzie, is just a great big joke about a wealthy fellow who gives his country place to his poor and quarrelsome relations (you can imagine what fun ensues when they all go to live there together); "I Lived This Story," by Betty White, is a more or less autobiographical story of college life; while "Murder in Paris" is, I am sorry to say, a mystery novel with a hero called Geoffrey Macadam. The books are not even uniformly bad; one or two, as Miss White's and "The Gay Procession," by Norma Patterson, are quite good and give the impression of being sincere, whereas most of the others are obviously potboilers. The whole situation is fearfully confusing.

Nor does it clarify matters much to group them by publishers and play off the Doubleday-Doran aggregation against the Farrar and Rineharts. "I Lived This Story" and "The Gay Procession," which are the best, represent opposite camps, and the result is a tie. When it comes to the tender passion they seem similarly divided. Possibly "That Other Love," by Geoffrey Moss, gives Doubleday-Doran a slight edge in that it introduces lesbianism, to which Messrs. Farrar and Rinehart have not yet aspired. Still, this is merely a technical lead, and as a bold gesture is almost counterbalanced by a drunken party on a yacht which occurs in "Romance Prescribed," by Eric Hatch (Farrar and Rinehart). Mr. Moss's book, incidentally, is excellent until the heroine, who has until then been having a plausible and interesting affair with a married man, turns homosexual, for no apparent reason, and annexes a girl friend. Mr. Hatch's opus is agreeably light summer reading, successful within its very severe limits. From a business point of view it ought to be an ideal dollar novel, short, witty, unpretentious.

But the dollar novels, as a whole, are not very encouraging to anyone with the slightest interest in literature. They are, if anything, shallower and more artificial than the two-fifty books. Whether they are financially successful I have no idea; personally, the idea of paying a dollar for a poor book is no more appealing than that of paying two-fifty. If they are successful, and if people are buying them all over the country like chewing gum, it is a business triumph, and not an intellectual one, any more than the popularity of chewing gum is.

GEOFFREY T. HELLMAN.

A Correction

The price of "An East Side Epic," by Harry Rogoff, (Vanguard Press) is $2.50, and not $7.50 as stated in the review published in The New Republic of August 20.

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